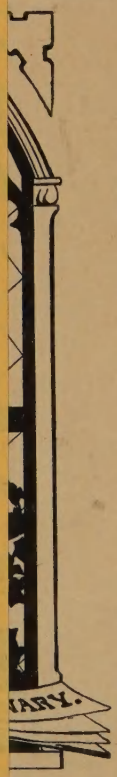
School of Theology at Claremont
1001 1359948

THE CHURCH AND INDUSTRY

MILLER AND FLETCHER

Theology Library

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
AT CLAREMONT
California



NO LONGER THE PROPERTY
OF THE UNION THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY, N. Y.,

LIBRARY
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA SCHOOL
OF THEOLOGY
817 West 34th Street
Los Angeles 7, Calif.

THE CHURCH AND INDUSTRY

An Account of the Relation of the Episcopal Church and the Church of England with Industry

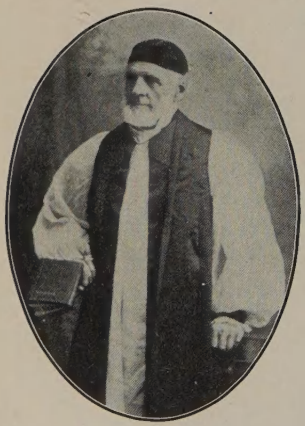
LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.
55 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
221 EAST 20TH STREET, CHICAGO
TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON
128 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, TORONTO

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO. LTD.
39 PATERNOSTER ROW, E C 4, LONDON
6 OLD COURT HOUSE STREET, CALCUTTA
53 NICOL ROAD, BOMBAY
36A MOUNT ROAD, MADRAS

LIBRARY OF THE
UNION
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY
NEW YORK

Rev. Father Huntington, O.H.C.

Rt. Rev. H. C. Potter, D.D.



Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington, S.T.D.

Harriette A. Keyser

SOME PIONEERS OF THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL MOVEMENT IN AMERICA

HN
31
M63

THE CHURCH AND INDUSTRY

By SPENCER MILLER, JR.

AND

JOSEPH F. FLETCHER

1930

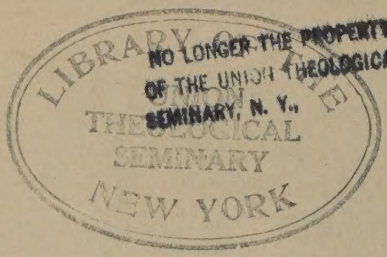
LONGMANS, GREEN AND COMPANY

LONDON *New York* TORONTO

THE CHURCH AND INDUSTRY
PUBLISHED FOR
THE DEPARTMENT OF CHRISTIAN
SOCIAL SERVICE
NATIONAL COUNCIL
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

COPYRIGHT • 1930
BY LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.

FIRST EDITION



JAN 23 1931

University of Southern California Library

237

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Ref. 261 M651c 2

Methodist World Service Fund

FOREWORD

THIS important volume on the Church and Industry is the result of eighteen months of study in the United States and England on the part of Spencer Miller, Jr., Consultant on Industrial Relations and Joseph F. Fletcher, research assistant of the Division on Industrial Relations of the Department of Christian Social Service. The study was made possible by a grant from the National Council of the Episcopal Church to the Department of Christian Social Service for the establishment of a Division on Industrial Relations.

The Church and Industry is the first of a series of research studies to be issued by this Division on Industrial Relations. It is presented with the hope that it may stimulate thought and study on this supremely important subject.

CHARLES N. LATHROP,
Secretary of the Department of Christian Social Service
National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church

The Church Missions House
281 Fourth Avenue, New York City

331318

PREFACE

THE challenge of industrialism to the Christian Church is a century old. It constitutes today the center and focus of the social gospel. About this focus there has developed over the past hundred years the Christian Social Movement which has sought to express the concern and responsibility of the Church toward the problems of an industrial civilization.

In recognition of this challenge, the Lambeth Conference, consisting of the Bishops of the Anglican Communion, which concluded its seventh decennial meeting in London August 10, 1930, set forth in its Encyclical Letter and by Resolutions a deep solicitude for the present social and industrial conditions. "Evil social conditions—such as slums or unemployment," state the Bishops in their Encyclical "are causes of unrest because they are outward and visible signs of inward and spiritual wrong. We dare not acquiesce in them, for the remedy lies not only in the best means that economic science can devise, but also in the active witness and willing self-sacrifice of Christian people. Indeed we cannot be true witnesses to God's kingdom of peace if we allow self-interest to be the ruling principle of any sphere of life. Neither industry nor commerce nor finance lie outside the borders of the Kingdom of God, for at every point they touch human values and depend on human motives, and nothing human is alien to Him Who came that men might have life and have it

abundantly. Only when we witness always and everywhere to His principles and rely upon His power, can we obtain from Him those gifts of truth and righteousness and love, of which peace is the perfect fruit."

But such a definitive statement of the Church's task does not stand alone as an expression of the social gospel, nor does it arise out of a desire to speak merely on a current economic problem. It represents, rather, the culmination of years of active social thinking by a group of distinguished leaders of the American and English Church. It constitutes at once the reason for this study and the hope for the wider application of Christian principles to our industrial life.

The precise purpose of this volume, then, is to trace briefly the history of the Christian Social Movement as it developed first in England and subsequently in the United States. The subject is so vast that it has been found wise to limit the inquiry to the development of this movement within the Established Church in England and the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. As its history in England has been carefully recorded by a number of competent students the major effort of this research has been centered on the development of this movement in the United States. It has been, as well, the purpose of this volume to examine the manner in which the principles of the Christian Social Movement are being exemplified in the parochial life of the Episcopal Church in the United States today, by the selection of a group of representative industrial parishes for more detailed examination. In this way we have sought to give our study a special focus.

The selection of our field of research has necessitated the omission of much of direct and collateral interest.

We have omitted, for example, any discussion of the important interdenominational project in England known as COPEC — the Conference on Politics, Economics and Civics, in which joint endeavor the Church of England took a significant part, and the more recently developed Council of Christian Ministers. Similar projects in the United States have been omitted. The proper treatment of these interdenominational efforts at home and abroad must await a second report.

The work itself has, finally, been approached as a fact-finding study. An effort has been made to present and appraise objectively the growth of the movement and its significance to the present policy of the Church in this field. No attempt thas been made to outline a complete program for the future. This must wait for further study. But an attempt has been made to lay before the Church the record of the past and to indicate the heritage which it has from the early pioneers of the Christian Social Movement.

We have many personal indebtednesses to acknowledge. In England we are under great obligation to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, to many of the Bishops, Vicars and Free Church leaders, to government representatives, labor leaders, and to a number of employers, especially Mr. Seebohm Rowntree for his invaluable aid. In the United States the late Bishop Murray, Father Huntington, O.H.C., one-time President of C.A.I.L. Rev. J. Howard Melish, and a number of clergy in local parishes have aided us in this study. Miss Harriette Keyser, Professor Richard Ely and Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, as laymen, have all given us information of historical importance. Dr. Charles N. Lathrop, finally, has read the entire manuscript and has made valu-

able suggestions during its preparation. But our acknowledgment to these persons at home and abroad does not make them in any wise responsible for this volume. We alone must carry that burden. We have sought the facts; we present these our findings.

S. M., Jr.
J. F. F.

New York, September, 1930

CONTENTS

Part I—Early History

England

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Christian Socialism and the Christian Social Union	3
II.	The Christian Socialist League, The League for the Kingdom of God, The Industrial Christian Fellowship, and Other Activities	26
III.	The Lambeth Conference and Industry	44

United States

IV.	The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor	52
V.	The Christian Social Union	77
VI.	The Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross and the Church Socialist League	90
VII.	The Church League for Industrial Democracy	97
VIII.	Industrial Relations in the General Convention	111

Part II—Parochial Activities

IX.	The Field Studies	131
X.	West Frankfort, Illinois	135
XI.	Kenosha, Wisconsin	153

XII. Monongahela, Pennsylvania 166
XIII. Durham, North Carolina 187

Part III

XIV. Conclusion 217

Appendix A: "Who's Who" 227
Appendix B: Resolutions 232
Appendix C: General Bibliography 251
Selected Bibliograhhy 264

Index 267

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Some Pioneers of the Christian Social Movement in America.....*Frontispiece*

One of the Posters used by C.A.I.L.....*Facing page* 60

Another poster used by C.A.I.L 61

St. Mark's Episcopal Mission, West Frankfort, Ill... 136

Playground and Mill Village Houses, Durham Cotton Mill..... 202

Textile Workers, Durham Cotton Mill..... 203

Part I

EARLY HISTORY

THE CHURCH AND INDUSTRY

England

CHAPTER I

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM AND THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION

WHEN Dr. Davidson resigned his office in November 1928, as the Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of All England, he brought to an end a primacy which had become historic for its long and continuous concern with all social questions—and had been made particularly notable by his famous Concordat issued during the period of the General Strike, May 1926. At the very height of what was probably the most stirring event in the recent industrial history of Great Britain the Archbishop of Canterbury, as the second person in the Kingdom, whose only force is the moral law, said, "Let us have peace." He voiced the conscience of the nation, and in so doing recovered for the Church something of the dominion it had exercised in an earlier age. In addition his sermon during the General Strike was a courageous and stirring affirmation of the Church's social responsibility in a national crisis. "If Archbishop Benson's Primacy is likely to be remembered by the Lambeth Encyclical on Anglican Orders, we venture to prophesy

that Archbishop Davidson's will be so on account of his sermon during the Great Strike," wrote the Editor of the *Commonwealth*. "These words of level-headed sympathy, understanding and justice marked an epoch. They registered the passing of the period during which the Church of England was a State Department and, we trust, the beginning of an era in which she will serve as a conscience to the nation. They did not, of course, stand alone in the Archbishop's history any more than in the recent history of the Church.

"They symbolised the development which had been going on in the Church and came happily to expression at the critical moment through her official chief. It has been during Archbishop Davidson's tenure of the See of Canterbury that the Lambeth Conferences have so markedly busied themselves with the social question; and he, with Dr. Lang, bore responsibility for that able and outspoken document, the Fifth Report of the Archbishop's Committee. Dr. Davidson has been increasingly a leader who has seen things as they are; and among other things he has seen how the Church, to be true to her head, must witness for social righteousness. Times there have been when he has failed the cause; when he has pleaded insufficient knowledge of economics as excusing him from speech on the moral issue. But in the main he has sought to claim for Christian law the ultimate authority to rule social practice. In the crisis he did not fail; and the world-politicians in one sense, Labor in another—leapt at once to the significance of his attitude. From that point it is now the Church's responsibility to go forward."

This dramatic and profoundly significant act of the Archbishop of Canterbury in issuing the Concordat during the General Strike came as the focus and cul-

mination of a developing concern among the clergy and the laity alike within the Church of England in the industrial problem. To find the beginnings of this concern for the social gospel we must turn to the very inception of the Christian Social Movement in England.

I. CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

WITHIN the Church of England the movement for Christian Socialism marks the beginning of the Christian Social Movement. Without arguing the point which is sometimes raised that Christian Socialism is a contradiction in terms, it remains true that the movement which became known by this name was the first organized expression of the social conscience in the English Church. Its chief concern was with the social problems of a developing industrialism in England. Its aim was to reach the unsocial Christian and the unchristian socialists—in a word, to Christianize socialism and not to Christian-socialize the universe.

The genesis of Christian Socialism reaches back to the threshold of the nineteenth century—to the French Revolution. While it did not acquire the dignity of a movement nor gather a company of disciples until about 1850, it would be incorrect to ignore the work of its forerunners in preparing the mind and conscience of the Church for questions of social justice.

Among these early forerunners are to be numbered Southey and Coleridge, best known to the world as poets and not social reformers. Southey's opposition to the doctrines of laissez-faire and his support of the principle of co-operative action won for him the recognition

of Lord Dicey in his volume on Law and Opinion "as the prophetic precursor of modern collectivism." It was Southey's firm opinion that effective reform is wrought by spiritual and not material means and that it is the province of religion to evoke such generous response. The wide-spread influence of Coleridge, on the other hand, upon the social thinking of his age and succeeding generations arose from the publication of his two lay sermons which M. Beer, the author of "The History of British Socialism" in his authoritative work by that name, describes as "The first voice of Christian Socialism." His contribution to the religious opinion of England has placed the leaders of Christian Socialism under a particular debt to him. "Upon Maurice," says Canon Raven, "he [Coleridge] was one of the three chief formative influences and probably the most important of the three, and Kingsley if he owed more to Carlyle and was never really at home in metaphysics, yet reckoned Coleridge the founder of that school of recovered Platonism of which he and his friends were members."

These two men then, together with Robert Owen, may be properly numbered as the early forerunners of Christian Socialism. The part of Owen is unique as the founder of the co-operative movement in England; his place is secure in the history of English Social Reform. At the outset of his career he reacted against the conservatism of the religion of his day. It was his fundamental belief, so frequently repeated in his writings, that "man's character is formed for him and not by him — that bodily and mental deficiencies are solely the effects of education." His influence upon the thinking of succeeding generations and upon the Christian Socialists was profound. Maurice, however, was at pains to point out the incompatibility

of Owen's concept of the State with that of the Church. "Owen," said Maurice, "was in fact a state communist. The State cannot be a commune, never will be, never ought to be. . . But the Church was communistic in principle; the Church brought into human society a spiritual fellowship and co-operation without which the State would soon disintegrate into a mere stock exchange."

The effect of these three forerunners in turn upon men of such wide and varied temperaments as Lord Shaftesbury and John Stuart Mill was most marked, and for a time these two men carried forward the torch of the social conscience. Of these two, Lord Shaftesbury was easily the most influential upon the members of the Established Church. No history of the Church of England in the nineteenth century could omit a record of its obligations to this emancipator of industrial England in witnessing to social righteousness at a time when to do so was to invite ridicule and misunderstanding. Indeed, as his biographer relates, his efforts were so little understood at times as to be described as "monomanic." Yet Lord Shaftesbury, at the end of a life of long Christian service was acknowledged as England's foremost champion of social reform during the nineteenth century. "Among men, I do not know one whom I should place second," declared Spurgeon the well-known preacher, "but I should certainly put Lord Shaftesbury first. . . A man so firm in the Gospel of Jesus Christ, so intensely active in the cause of God and man, I have never known." Of his relation to the Christian Socialist Movement of Maurice and Kingsley, more shall be related later.

But the name of still one other man must be included in this list of forerunners — Thomas Carlyle, essayist and historian of the French Revolution. His pen performed

yeoman service in opposition to the philosophy of his time. To some his message seemed unproductive. For the Chartist risings had the effect of consolidating class lines in opposition to political reform as he prophesied. Withal Carlyle remained the inspiration of both Kingsley and Maurice and the example for much of their methods and their utterances.

If, in justice to the facts, the story of the genesis of Christian Socialism in England must record the indebtedness of the movement to its forerunners, it is with equal appropriateness that the place of John Malcolm Ludlow, as the founder of the movement for Christian Socialism, be acknowledged.

John Ludlow, the son of an English army officer, was born in India but went subsequently with his parents to France, where he was educated. There he became acquainted with the works of Buchez, the father of French co-operation as well as the philosophy of the socialist movement of that day. After his student days in Paris were over, he returned to London to practice law, as a young barrister in the Inner Temple. In 1848 he returned again to Paris just after the February Revolution. The vitality of this change in the life of France had a powerful effect upon him and gave direction to his future thoughts and action. During his stay in Paris, he saw something of the workings of the labor organizations and recognized the value of starting such co-operative societies in England. In his letter to Maurice in 1848 upon his return from Paris, Ludlow expressed the conviction that Socialism had become a powerful factor in the national life. "It must be Christianized or it will shake Christianity to its foundation, precisely because it appeals to the higher and not the lower instincts

of man." With such conviction Ludlow became responsible for the original creation and subsequent development of this movement.

If Ludlow was the founder of Christian Socialism, Frederick Denison Maurice was its seer and prophet, and Charles Kingsley its most brilliant interpreter and spokesman. Maurice, the son of a Unitarian minister, as a young man took an active part with his father in his benevolent schemes and thus acquired at an early age a familiarity with the effects of vice and destitution which laid the foundation for his future sympathy for the suffering of his fellowman. Somewhat later he formed a debating class which had grown out of an Owenite Club in which the subject of co-operation often came up for consideration. In 1823 Maurice entered Trinity College of Cambridge University which did not at that time grant degrees to any but members of the Established Church. After two years he left Cambridge for London to do literary work. It proved unsatisfying. Consequently, after a short period of literary work in London, he returned to Oxford to seek Anglican Orders and was ordained in 1834. A brief period as a country curate followed. Then he turned again to London where he was appointed first to the Chair of Literature in Kings College and six years later there was added the Chair of Divinity and Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn. In 1846, while professor at Kings College and Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn, he was solicited by John Ludlow, a young barrister, to act in a scheme of bringing the good feelings of the Inns of Court upon the misery of the neighborhood. Two years later he established Queen's College for Women and persuaded Charles Kingsley, former rector, to join him.

It was during these years in London that Maurice came

to recognize the challenge of the social problems of the age to the churches and the need of a closer union with workingmen. The Chartist risings, the conditions in the factories of England to which Lord Shaftesbury had drawn attention, the famines in Ireland and the French Revolution all came to focus in 1848. It was a year of revolutions! What was described as the "State of the Country" became increasingly a concern to Maurice. Chartism and Socialism — the political and social movements of the time found common cause by 1848 — the former in the discussion of social questions, the latter in political-mindedness. During the early months of this year, Maurice delivered his famous sermon on the "Lord's Prayer." "Is then the belief a phantasy that men are intended for brotherhood? Must the effort to realize it terminate in ridicule or in crime?" he asked. In his subsequent sermons and in his public speeches he presented his great message of the social implications of the Incarnation in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man. It was a great plea for world unity which could not be denied. Soon he became a center around whom the younger groups began to gather. It was at this same time that Ludlow, the young barrister, sent to Maurice his impressions of his visit to Paris and his belief that Socialism had become a "real and very great power," and that it needed to be Christianized. In his letter to Ludlow on March 16, 1848, Maurice wrote — "I have not time to tell you now what earnest thoughts your letter has awakened in my mind that had been working for a long time. I see that God Himself is speaking to us and that if we ask Him what He would have us do, we shall be shown. I am anxious to see you and I shall hope to call some time tomorrow on the

chance of finding you. Could you spend an evening with me—the sooner the better?"

This letter became the basis of a consistent effort on the part of these two men to determine the most effective way to reach the workingmen of England. The opportunity was to present itself directly. Within less than a month, the great Chartist gathering was held at Kensington Common, London, on April 10th. Here Charles Kingsley had come from his parish in the country, eager to aid the cause. He sought out Maurice who in turn sent him with a letter to Ludlow. The day after the rising and the day before the presentation of the petition to Parliament, it was decided by Maurice and his followers to issue placards for the walls "to speak a word for God with." Kingsley himself wrote the placard which was posted all over London. It was the first utterance of the Christian Socialist and was addressed to the Workingmen of England.

WORKINGMEN OF ENGLAND!

You say that you are wronged. Many of you are wronged; and many besides yourselves know it. Almost all men who have heads and hearts know it—above all the working clergy know it. They go into your houses, they see the shameful filth and darkness in which you are forced to live, crowded together; they see intelligent and well-read men among you shut out from a Freeman's just right of voting; and they see too the noble patience and self-control with which you have as yet borne these evils. They see it and God sees it.

Workmen of England! You have more friends than you think for. Friends who expect nothing from you but who love you because you are their brothers, and who fear God and therefore dare not neglect you, His children; men who are drudging and sacrificing themselves to get you your rights; men who know what your rights are better than you know yourselves, who are trying to get for you something nobler than Charters and dozens of

LIBRARY OF THE UNION THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Acts of Parliament—more useful than this "Fifty thousandth share in a Talker in the National Palaver at Westminster" can give you. You may disbelieve them, insult them—you cannot stop their working for you, beseeching you as you love yourselves, to turn back from the precipice of riot, which ends in the gulf of universal distrust, stagnation, starvation. You think the Charter would make you free—would to God it would! The Charter is not bad; *if the men who use it are not bad!* But will the Charter make you free? Will it free you from slavery to ten pound bribes? Slavery to beer and gin? Slavery to every spouter who flatters your self-conceit and stirs up bitterness and heart-long rage in you? That, I guess, is real slavery; to be a slave to one's own stomach, one's own pocket, one's own temper. Will the Charter cure *that?* Friends, you want more than Acts of Parliament can give.

English men! Saxons! Workers of the great, cool-headed, strong-handed nation of England, the workshop of the world, the leader of freedom for 700 years, men say you have common sense! Then do not humbug yourselves into meaning 'license' when you cry for 'liberty.' Who would dare to refuse you freedom? for the Almighty God and Jesus Christ, the poor Man, who died for poor men, will bring it about for you, though all the Mammonites of the earth were against you. A nobler day is dawning for England, a day of freedom, science, industry! no true industry without the fear of God, and love to your fellow citizens.

Workers of England! be wise, and then you *must* be free, for you will be *fit* to be free.

[*Signed*] A Working Parson

Following this first proclamation it was decided by the group that had been thrown together at Lincoln's Inn to issue a weekly periodical called *Politics for the People* of which Maurice and Ludlow were to be joint editors. It was in this periodical that Kingsley sent out his powerful series of letters to Chartists under the pseudonym of "Parson Lot."

It was in this capacity also that Charles Kingsley brought his genius to bear in the service of the cause which he had so much at heart. His famous tract "Cheap

Clothes and Nasty" was one of the most trenchant of all his efforts as interpreter and champion of labor. Regular meetings were next arranged for by Maurice after a meeting with the Chartists. Subsequently an evening school for workingmen was projected. Tom Hughes, author of "Tom Brown's School Days," joined the movement about this time along with other socially minded men of his generation.

In November 1849, Ludlow brought back further inspiration from Paris as a result of his study of producers' co-operative societies and urged their formation in England. It gave concrete form to the efforts of the group and became the means of subsequent achievement.

About this time also Maurice determined to send out a series of tracts on Christian Socialism. The weekly periodical on *Politics for the People* which had been discontinued was revived early in the new year (1850) under the heading of *The Christian Socialist.* The title of the tracts was selected by Maurice himself because as he wrote to Ludlow — "Tracts on Christian Socialism seems to me the only title which will define our object and will commit us at once to the conflict we must engage in sooner or later with the unsocial Christians and the unchristian Socialists."

Among the first and most original acts to which the Christian Socialists set their hand was the formation of a co-operative labor organization. The initial organization was that of the journeymen tailors which was formed in 1850. A society was started by Maurice and his followers known as the *Society for the Promoting of Workingmen's Associations,* with the result that twelve workingmen's organizations were started. The purpose of

organization was to provide a form of a producers' co-operation. The Society was, however, short lived. In 1854 it came to an end after the loss of considerable money by its Christian Socialist sponsors due to the inability of the workers to appreciate the spirit and purpose of co-operation. But the main reason for the failure, says Woodworth, "was inherent in modern industrial conditions — the capitalists and entrepreneur cannot be dispensed with in industries where machines are used."

The second and one of the most valuable contributions of the Christian Socialists to the cause of industry was their service in securing the enactment by Parliament in 1852 of the Industrial and Provident Societies Act which gave a legitimate status and recognition to co-operative associations. It marked one of the greatest advances in the history of social legislation in England during the nineteenth century. The service of Ludlow's pen alone in focusing public attention on this Act was incomparable although the real significance of his advocacy was not recognized until later.

When the co-operative schemes which had centred the interest of Maurice and his followers failed, they turned their attention to a college for workingmen which had been projected shortly after the opening of Queen's College for Women in 1848. The work of the People's College at Sheffield was the example for their effort. The Working Men's College which was opened in the fall of 1854 was the one tangible outcome, as Ludlow described it, of the Christian Socialist movement. It was in part the outgrowth of the Bible Class which was conducted by Maurice himself and Maurice became its head. No ecclesiastical tests were applied to members of the faculty

which comprised men of such varied ability as Ruskin, Rossetti, Huxley, Frederic Harrison, Thomas Hughes, Neale, Tyndall, J. R. Seeley, and many others. The aim of the College was four-fold: (1) To provide an education which should be humane, not technical; (2) to base the instruction on the social and political interests of the students; (3) to be regular and organic in the relation of courses to one another; (4) to be not merely a system of instruction but a way of life shared by teachers and students. The College which has enjoyed an unbroken existence down to the present has had not only a marked influence on the adult education movement in England but also in rousing the social conscience of the young men of that period to an interest which found expression later in the university extension movement and social settlements.

During all the early activity of the Christian Socialists it was one of the reasons for regret that there was so little co-operation with Lord Shaftesbury, the Emancipator of Industrial England, and the leaders of the movement, Maurice, Ludlow, and Kingsley. The misunderstanding was due to differences in doctrine between the Evangelicals of whom Lord Shaftesbury was one, and Broad Churchmen who were the leaders of Christian Socialists. It was more unfortunate because both were "aflame with a passion to apply the dynamics of Christianity to social problems." Yet both travelled by parallel roads. Maurice's endeavors, particularly his Workingmen's College and Queen's College for Women were in complete harmony with Shaftesbury's activities.

The first chapter of Christian Socialism closed thus in 1854 with the failure of the Producers' Co-operative Association. From that date there remained no party in

England which described itself as Christian Socialist. But the work which these leaders of the Christian Social Movement started in the middle of the nineteenth century became the ferment of important changes in the life of England. Two streams of activity went forth from their efforts — the one leading into a closer alliance with the labor movement and in fact rallying workingmen back of the co-operative venture which was eventually to lay the foundation for the great co-operative movement in England. The other of these two streams led to the more complete adaptation of Maurice's theology to social practice and to the more definite development within a generation of the Christian Social Movement.

"The immediate efforts of the Christian Socialists resulted in failure," says Dean Hodges. "Christian Socialism as a movement failed. It could afford to fail. The men who believed in it were not disheartened at its failure. They had never trusted in machinery; they had never felt that their mission was to organize society. Their errand was to teach and improve. The programme was nothing; the principle was everything."

But the debt of England to Maurice was very great. His repose of intellect, his genius for leadership, his great heart and human sympathy made his influence one of a lasting character. Through his valiant effort the Church of England emerged from an attitude of indifference to one of genuine concern for the social problem. He it was who was described by Kingsley, his disciple, as "the most beautiful human soul . . . the Apostle of Love."

"In the course of time," writes Woodworth, "both the radical and conservative elements of the Anglican Church came to look on Maurice as their main source of inspira-

tion. No better illustration of a common meeting ground of two seemingly opposed principles could be formed than the fusing of the two extreme wings, the Broad Church and the High Church in their heritage from Maurice. His practical social theories appealed to the Broad Church which has been chiefly stimulated by modern science, while his true Christian ideals of brotherhood have been embraced by the High Church." To both groups Maurice had made the Church a living brotherhood, to the High Church group he had revealed for all time the social implications of the Incarnation and the Sacrament of Communion.

II. CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION

For a generation after the rise and decline of the Christian Socialist Movement, there was little corporate witness to social righteousness in the Church of England; the followers of Maurice and Kingsley left no organ of their spirit to carry forward the Christian Social Movement. There were of course individuals, both in and out of the Church, who had been inspired by the example of those earlier men, but there was little of common effort.

In 1877 the Guild of St. Matthew was formed in one of the quiet parishes of East London under the fearless leadership of the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam "to revive and carry forward the work of the Christian Socialists and to direct its members toward a careful study of social conditions." Though it sought to draw the Church and workingman closer together the Guild did not fulfil the aims of the varied group interested in the social question and it was subsequently absorbed by the founders of the Christian Social Union, under the leadership of Canon Scott Holland.

The Lambeth Conference in 1888, however, gave a further impetus to the Christian Social Movement. In words of great earnestness and great power, the Bishop of Manchester voiced the temper of this great gathering by asserting that "the Church could do much by requiring some knowledge of Economic science from her candidates for orders," and he suggested to the clergy "to enter into friendly relations with Socialists attending when possible their meetings, and trying to understand their aims and methods." The challenge had been made explicit ! And the Christian Social Union, which was formed the following year (1889) came virtually as a response to this challenge.

The origin of the Christian Social Union focuses in a most distinctive way around the personality of Henry Scott Holland, Canon of St. Paul's. "There is no doubt," wrote Bishop Gore nearly a decade ago, "that Holland was the centre of the movement and that the movement expressed a central element of his mind." By a coincidence the Union was formed the same year that "Lux Mundi," a series of studies of the religion of the Incarnation, was published in England under the editorship of the then Canon Gore.

In the fall of 1888 the plans for the Christian Social Union took shape in Holland's mind. To Canon Richmond, his friend of many years, he wrote in deprecation of the lack of social thinking of the times, "We live in economic blindness down here, of the blackest kind. The world seems to have reacted into the mind of forty years ago. You would think it had never talked democratic language. We are in mad back-water, eddying furiously."

Following this letter, Holland summoned some of his friends to a meeting in his house early in 1889. At this

gathering, it was decided that Canon Richmond, who had written an informing volume on "Christian Economics," should deliver a series of Lenten lectures at Zion College as a first test of interest in the formation of a new society. Bishop Westcott, the Bishop of Marlborough, Canon Furse, and Holland agreed to preside at this series. The lectures, afterwards published under the title "Economic Morals," proved a striking success! Two meetings followed at Holland's house and on June 14th the Society was finally formed at a meeting held in the Chapter House at St. Paul's. Bishop Westcott, who presided, was chosen president and Canon Holland was made chairman of committee.

The motive for the new Society was the realization that "Christianity and especially the Church of England had failed to bear its social witness — its witness to the principles of divine justice and human brotherhood which be at its heart." A developing industrialism had been permitted to grow up in the land on premises which were unchristian. Thus the Society became an act of repentance for the Christian Church.

In a pamphlet prepared by Canon Holland which was issued by the Society shortly after its establishment, this problem is cogently stated:

> We believe that political problems are rapidly giving place to the industrial problem which is proving itself more and more to be the question of the hour. It is the condition of industry which is absorbing all attention and all anxieties. It is the needs and necessities of industry which are the motive power now at work to mould and direct the fortunes of human society. It is the intolerable situation in which our industrial population now finds itself that must force upon us a reconsideration of the economic principles and methods which have such disastrous and terrible results.
>
> We are of those who are convinced that the ultimate solution of this social question is bound to be discovered in the Person and

life of Christ. He is "the Man"; and He must be the solution of all human problems. That is our primal creed. . . . He is Himself, in His risen and ascended Royalty, the sum of all human endeavor, the interpretation of all human history, the goal of all human growth, the bond of all human brotherhood.

The aim of the Society as expressed in a leaflet issued was threefold:

This Union consists of Churchmen who have the following objects at heart:

(1) To claim for the Christian Law the Ultimate authority to rule social practice.

(2) To study in common how to apply moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time.

(3) To present Christ in practical life as the living Master and King, the enemy of wrong and selfishness, the power of righteousness and love.

(Members are expected to pray for the well-being of the Union at Holy Communion, more particularly on or about the following days — the Feast of the Epiphany, the Feast of the Ascension, the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels.)

AROUND these aims Churchmen of different experience and capacities rallied. Students of theology, of economics, followers of Maurice and Kingsley, men and women who had consecrated their lives to the poor through settlement work, church workers and members of the clergy who had become aroused by social injustice. "But they were all at one," writes Bishop Gore, "in feeling that the principles and life and spirit of Jesus Christ had very much to do with the social question, and would be found on serious investigation to have both an illuminating power to be brought to bear on the relation of man to man and an explosive force in the struggle against injustice and the exploiting of the weak, which could not be equalled anywhere else."

The movement which this Society represented was non-

political in that it did not identify itself with any particular political or economic creed. It did, however, limit membership to people who shared the same sacramental system without respect or preference to High or Low or Broad Churchmanship. The restriction was logical; only Church people could awaken the Church: and that was its primary task, to awaken the Church of England to its social responsibilities.

The first work of this new Society was to persuade Dr. Temple, the Bishop of London, to come up to London from Wales during the Dock Strike in August 1889. Through his good offices and conferences with the Mayor and representatives of the workers and employers, a settlement was finally secured.

The second task was the preparation of a series of pamphlets on current problems. The first pamphlet of the Society bears Canon Holland's impress. Other pamphlets followed. The next year Canon Richmond's Zion College lectures on "Economic Morals" appeared with a preface by Holland. With its aim defined and its need made manifest the Society grew steadily. On every hand there were opportunities for improving industrial conditions. Low wages and excessive working hours became at once an opportunity for investigation and report. "White Lists" for deserving employers who were generous to their employees were inaugurated; pamphlets were published on such occupational diseases as lead and phosphorus poisoning, and accidents due to the absence of adequate safeguards were probed. It made a special point of aiding the unhappy plight of women in sweated industries. It submitted proposals for public works, for reclamation projects and afforestation. In a word the Society sought and rendered a genuine public service in

awakening the conscience of the nation toward industrial ills.

In 1895 the Union had grown to respectable proportions. It had no less than twenty-seven branches and a total membership of more than twenty-six hundred. A general committee had been set up with an executive committee and the parent society had become the London branch. In its report of 1895 the Oxford branch reports the publication of six pamphlets, seventeen leaflets, and four volumes. "Considerable practical results have followed from the action of the Branch in regard to the condition of work in the various local trades." The London branch had done similar work, and in addition had arranged reading circles, lectures, and a little relief fund. In addition it arranged in Lent during 1895–96 courses of sermons in London churches. These sermons were published under the title "Lombard Street in Lent" and "Lent in London" with a preface by Holland.

During the early years of the Society, however, the members were without any mouthpiece. It is true that the Society edited the *Economic Review* and that Holland and Adderly started *Goodwill* as a parish magazine in 1894. But it proved inadequate for the needs of the Society. In the fall of 1895 Holland founded the *Commonwealth* and issued the first number in January 1896. For twenty years he was its editor. From 1912–14, he shared the editorship with Mr. Harold Anson but finally relinquished these duties in March 1918. The magazine continues to this day under the editorship of Mr. G. W. Wardman, a valiant champion of the cause for which the Christian Social Union came into being. "*Commonwealth* has outlived him (Holland)," wrote Stephen Paget, "and is a memorial to him. He published it month after

month himself, and he has round him a notable group of men and women. . . In *Commonwealth* he could be, when he was his best, 'Genius in its shirtsleeves.' "

By 1900 the Union had grown to a membership of four thousand and numbered no less than thirty-five branches. Its work had become even more diversified and its influence had become more pronounced in the life of England. The *Commonwealth* under the brilliant editorship of Holland was multiplying many times his voice and his appeal for righteousness in the land. Year after year the annual meeting was held in some city where there was a local branch which acted as host. A great public meeting was always held in connexion with these meetings at which Bishop Westcott presided during his lifetime and Canon Holland spoke — always with brilliance and frequently with great humor. By such efforts and by the most practical services, was the society builded.

Among the other practical aspects of the work of the Christian Social Union was the establishment in Hoxton, one of the most neglected parts of London, of a hostel for men and women named after that great champion of the Christian Social Movement, Maurice. It was again a work which owed much to the untiring service of Scott Holland and remains as a memorial to his labors.

With the Great War in 1914 came a certain diffusion of energy of the Society. Holland, who had not foreseen the War, tried to adjust his sensitive nature to the raging conflict. It was a time of great difficulty for him as for many others who had conceived of the Kingdom of Righteousness as in the process of becoming. The Union survived the War and through it all the *Commonwealth* continued to proclaim a gospel somewhat alien to

a world at war. In 1919 the Union was merged with the Navvy Mission to become the new and vital Industrial Christian Fellowship.

To appraise the work of the Union is not a task that lends itself easily to the human balance sheet. The estimate of so distinguished an authority as Bishop Gore may well serve to sum up the service of this movement. "How far was the movement inaugurated by the Christian Social Union a success?" asks Bishop Gore. "In one sense I should claim that it was. Its output in the way of writings of various kinds and its preaching and speaking — especially through the weight of Westcott's and Holland's names — did contribute very largely to the change in the whole attitude of society and the Church towards the social question. In particular, within the Church, I think the quite new tone in its more or less official utterances — in the Reports of the Lambeth Conference Committees in its convocations and the Church Congress debates, in the Reports of the Archbishops' Committees on industrial questions — has been very largely due to the efforts of the C. S. U. That is perhaps the main thing. But two things it has not done. It has not succeeded in stirring up what it believes to be the right spirit in the mass of those who preach in the pulpits or sit in the pews of the Anglican Churches. Whatever may be said of the central or official Church, the Church as represented locally, whether in town or country, whether clerical or lay, remains I fear a body which as a whole, the social reformer or the Labour man regards as something which is alien to his ends and aims, and which he finds irresponsive and dull. Also, the Christian Social Union entirely failed to raise up in the ranks of the Church a sufficient body of Trade Unionists who

were also Churchmen to make any effective impression on the Labour movement as a whole."

The Christian Social Union, however, did give form and substance to the Christian Social Movement within the Church of England for a period of three decades and provided the basis for a greater work in the cause of social justice after the close of the Great War. Therein lies the test of the Christian Social Union, of which Canon Holland was the centre, and about which his mind was focused.

CHAPTER II

THE CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE, THE LEAGUE FOR THE KINGDOM OF GOD, THE INDUSTRIAL CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP, AND OTHER ACTIVITIES

THE Christian Social Movement in the Church of England, begun by the Christian Socialists in the middle of the nineteenth century and raised to a high point of social effectiveness by the leaders of the Christian Social Union, is today carried forward by the Industrial Christian Fellowship. There are, it is true, several smaller societies of Churchmen such as the League of the Kingdom of God which seek to recreate a Christian sociology "consonant with the needs of the age." But the head and forefront of the Christian Social Movement at present is the Industrial Christian Fellowship.

The roots of this Fellowship reach back to the missionary efforts of an earlier period of the Navvy Mission, an old church society, founded in 1877, the same year in which the Guild of St. Matthew was formed by the Rev. Stewart D. Headlam in a quiet parish in the east end of London. As the Guild of St. Matthew was subsequently absorbed by the leaders of the Christian Social Union in 1909, so the Navvy Mission itself was incorporated with the Christian Social Union ten years later, at the close of the Great War, and re-named the Industrial Christian Fellowship.

CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE

More than a decade before this Fellowship was rechristened in 1919, the Church Socialist League was founded in 1906 by a group of priests who sought to secure the corporate action and support of the Church on the principles of Socialism following the General Election of that year. That election, it will be remembered, marked the return of twenty-nine members of the Labor Party to the House of Commons. It was at once regarded as the promise of the rise to power in Britain of the forces of labor and democracy — the fruition of the publico-religious idealism of Kier Hardie and his followers.

The Socialism of that period, especially as it came to be known in the North of England, represented the resentment of the workers against inhuman conditions of industrial life and their aspirations after a co-operative commonwealth. It was in essence a religious movement. "The social movement which is being stirred about us is essentially religious," wrote Bishop Westcott, a decade before. "For us it is avowedly religious, religious in the aspirations, in its strength, in its end. We also live in an age of revolution."

Under the leadership, then, of Algernon West, a group of priests who had been on a preaching mission in Morecambe, met together a few weeks after the General Election in May 1906, to decide whether the time was not ripe to link together the clergy and laity who were supporters of the Labor Party. This action was decided upon and a conference was called for June 18, 1906. A few laymen were invited in addition to some sixty priests. Out of the discussions at this meeting it was decided that a new society was needed since neither the moribund con-

dition of the Guild of St. Matthew nor the academic character of the Christian Social Union would be adequate for the need. The majority of the sixty odd priests present wanted a society definitely committed to the acceptance of Socialism. This was agreed upon and the League's aim as formulated by the conference was "to secure the corporate action of the Church on the principle of Socialism as a corollary of the principles that the Church has a mission for the whole of human life and that it can best fulfil its social mission by acting in its corporate capacity." Its method was "to cultivate by the regular use of prayer and the Sacraments the life of Brotherhood." No reference was made to the necessity of approaching the study of social questions in the light of the Incarnation or of Christian Theology as was provided both by the Guild of St. Matthew or the Christian Social Union; rather Socialism was presumed to provide Christianity with a ready-made sociology. This presumption remains as one of the serious drawbacks to the League.

The League, however, became at once a centre of vigorous propaganda among Churchmen. Branches were formed in many parts of the country. Lectures were given in churches and before labor centres and pamphlets were prepared for wide distribution. It brought many leaders of labor to a new sympathy with the Church; it gave a new life to the Catholic Faith. "I see," wrote James Adderly in the early years of the League, "that the Church Socialist League is opening the sluices of the Church . . . I see fresh meaning given to our worship, our communions, our missions." So the League increased in its influence and its members.

When the Guild Socialist Movement became the centre

of Socialist interest in England just before the War, the League turned its attention to the Guild Movement as an expression of its social philosophy. Two years later the Great War resulted in a diminished interest in the Church Socialist League and it became inactive. A decade later the League of the Kingdom of God began again the work which the Church Socialist League had begun and had allowed to lapse.

LEAGUE OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

One of the defects of the Church Socialist League was its failure to provide for the study of social questions from the standpoint of a Christian theology — to develop in a word, a Christian sociology. The necessity for the formulation of such a Christian sociology became an increasing concern of the Anglo-Catholic group in England and led in 1923 to the formation of the League of the Kingdom of God which sought to carry forward in a somewhat more specific manner the work started by the Church Socialist League in 1906. The basis and objects of the League of the Kingdom of God as set forth in their prospectus, are as follows:

BASIS

The League is a band of Churchmen and Churchwomen who believe that the Catholic Faith demands a challenge to the world by the repudiation of capitalist plutocracy and the wage system, and stands for a social order in which the means of life subserve the commonweal.

The League, insisting on the Faith as the Church's primary aim and case, and as the only satisfactory basis of life for all people, declares its devotion to the liberation of the poor and oppressed as a cause specially dear to God.

The League believes that a holy, just, and free society—Christendom—will come first and chiefly through faith and thought and

sacramental power—personal loyalty to Christ and His cause—and that it must express itself in zealous endeavours after fellowship in industry, commerce, citizenship and culture.

OBJECTS

1. The insistence on the prophetic Office of the Church and the Kingdom of God as the regulative principle of theology.
2. The awakening of Churchmen to the lost social traditions of Christendom and the re-creation of a Christian sociology consonant with the needs of the age.
3. The restoration of the Eucharist as the central act of Christian worship—the Sacrament of fraternity and the embodiment of Christian values.
4. The recognition and enforcement of the Church's social discipline on her own members.
5. The winning of those indifferent or hostile to the Catholic Faith while standing for justice in the common life, and those within the Church who resist the Christian ordering of society.
6. Co-operation with other bodies, religious and secular, on occasions when fundamental issues of social righteousness are at stake.

One of the most notable and solid achievements of the League is its share in initiating and carrying on the Anglo-Catholic Summer School of Sociology which is held yearly at Keble College, Oxford University, to "re-create a Christian Sociology consonant with the needs of the age." A notable series of lectures and discussions have been held at this Annual Summer School and out of it has grown an equally notable series of study circle syllabi and reports for the further study by the members. The subject of study for the third Summer School in 1927, for example, was "Property"; it consisted of a series of lectures and discussions on such subjects as "The Right to Property," "Dividends and Investments," "By Whom Shall Industry be Managed." This was followed the next year, 1928, by a consideration of the subject "Mod-

ern Industry in the Light of the Faith." A plan was developed to consider this important subject each year for three years, beginning in 1928 and ending in 1930. The main lecture topics for the 1929 Summer School will give one an idea of the fundamental approach made to this question.

"Leviathan, or Rationalization,"
"Babylon, or Money Power,"
"Armageddon, or the International Deadlock."

The spirit of the 1929 Summer School was caught by Father Demant in his address last summer on "Babylon, or Money Power," when he said, "A Catholic Sociology must go behind the parable of Dives and Lazarus to our Lord's explanation of the Pharisees."

The organ of the League was for a number of years a section set aside quarterly in the *Commonwealth* and printed separately for members as the "L. K. G. Quarterly." In addition there were published by the League various tracts and study circle syllabi and special thanksgiving and intercession papers. The League continues small, but is vigorous and militant. It remains steadfast to the goal which has been set up. It has already begun to make itself felt in the life and work of the Church of England.

INDUSTRIAL CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP

WITH all the background of tradition and social experience of its two constituent bodies, the Navvy Mission and the Christian Social Union, the Industrial Christian Fellowship, began in 1919, an effective and well-conceived missionary movement first: "to bring back into the fellowship of the Church the great mass of the people who

are mainly indifferent but gradually becoming hostile to all forms of organized Christianity:" and secondly "to arouse the conscience of Christian people to the need of spiritual change in our industrial life." The objectives of the Fellowship are essentially those which have been upheld for the last thirty years by the Christian Social Union since its establishment by Canon Scott Holland and Bishop Westcott. These objectives expanded slightly in form, are as follows:

1. To present Christ as the living Lord and Master in every department of human life, and to proclaim the supreme authority of the Christian law of love.
2. To minister by living agents to all engaged in the industrial world, seeking to win them to personal discipleship of Jesus Christ, and to unite all classes in a bond of Christian fellowship and prayer.
3. To study under the guidance of the Holy Spirit how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social, economic, and industrial systems of the world.

To ACHIEVE these objectives, the Industrial Christian Fellowship employs agents or missioners drawn for the most part from the ranks of labor who strive through open-air, factory, or labor meetings, and individual contacts, to bring their listeners to a closer knowledge of Christ and His Gospel, of the need of religion, or of the place of the Church in the Labor Movement and in addressing and working among church people in order to awaken them to the social and industrial bearing of the faith. At present some forty men are employed in this capacity as agents in the industrial centres of Britain.

One of the most effective works done by the Industrial Christian Fellowship is through what are known as Crusades. A Crusade differs from a parochial mission. It endeavors to bring a message to those whom the Church

does not reach. It represents a concentrated effort by the entire field staff of the Industrial Christian Fellowship for a week or two weeks' duration to present the Christian religion to the people of a town or a group of towns as a solution for the problems of modern life. The appeal is to the individual as a member of society; the Crusaders meet people on neutral ground by speaking in the streets. There are also addresses in churches, conferences between Church representatives, employers, and labor representatives, who are invited to reconsider the problem with which industry is confronted in the light of the Gospel. One of the most notable of these Crusades was held in Monmouthshire during August, 1928. The area of the Crusade included the town of Newport in the South of Wales, and four adjacent mining valleys. On the first evening of the Crusade over a hundred Crusaders who had been secured for this effort attended a commissionary service in the Pro-Cathedral of St. Mark's and received from the Bishop of Woolwich, the leader of the Crusade, authority under his sign and seal. A great procession followed out into the street headed by Crusaders, to the Cathedral where an address was given to the multitude by the Bishop. "We have come," said the Bishop, "to proclaim His message . . . Christianity is not a theory of life, but a way of living."

For a fortnight these Crusaders were detailed to open-air "pitches" or meeting places in the town of Newport and in each of the other four valleys represented by the deaneries of Bassale, Bedwellty, Blaenau Gwent, and Pontypool, where they conducted their missions. In Newport there were no less than fourteen such "pitches."

Each day was begun with a corporate communion for the Crusaders; a devotional service followed, to which all

were invited. By noon the Crusaders were at their posts holding great mid-day meetings at the pit-heads and the unemployment exchanges. Dinner meetings reached within the factory gates; at railroad and other industrial centres.

A syllabus especially prepared for the Crusades entitled: "Christ, the Lord of All Life" was used by each Crusader in his talks daily to give continuity to his addresses and a focus to the fortnight's campaign. In addition a special series of Crusade leaflets dealing with questions of the day were sold at a penny each. These leaflets dealt with such subjects as "What is God Like," "Christ and Commerce," "The Sin of Gambling," "Economic Aspects of the Drink Question," "The Brotherhood of Mankind," "Political and Economic Freedom," and "The Home." Evening meetings were a regular part of the Crusade followed by questions and discussion and concluding with the "Lord's Prayer." Meetings were also held for business men and teachers, addresses were delivered to the Rotary Clubs Luncheons and other such gatherings.

So great was the enthusiasm aroused by the Crusade that at one meeting alone in Pontypool over 20,000 people gathered to hear the Rev. G. A. Studdert Kennedy, some of whom had marched in a procession for ten miles!

The Monmouthshire Crusade was begun by the singing of "Veni Creator Spiritus"; it was concluded with such a witness to the working of the Holy Spirit in the five valleys that it has become a milestone for these people of all walks of life.

In addition to these Crusades a staff of clerical directors and messengers of the Industrial Christian Fellowship take the same message into other sections of

society before business men's groups and employers. Furthermore, on Industrial Sunday, before May Day (Labor Day), a special observance is held in the parishes about the country, and, through the efforts of the Industrial Christian Fellowship, special services are held at which employers, trade unionists, and others take an active part. The appeal which was issued on Industrial Sunday in April of this year (1930), directed to employers, business men, and directors was signed by a large number of prominent industrialists in England. It reads as follows:

AN APPEAL FOR CO-OPERATION AND SERVICE

To Directors, Employers, and Business Men and All Engaged in Industry

Industrial Sunday, April 27th, 1930

INDUSTRIAL SUNDAY will have come round once more on April 27th; and again we issue an earnest appeal to all who are working together in industry to take advantage of the day, to seek religious inspiration and guidance, to lead them on the road to complete Christian Fellowship.

Many, we are glad to think, already find themselves far along that road — the road pointed out and preached by Christ nearly two thousand years ago — and it is for "Christ and His Principles" that we stand. We should specially use this Sunday demonstration to turn, so far as by God's help we can, the "many" into "all." We hope, indeed, that none of us, who are already persuaded of the inestimable value of Christian Fellowship, may ever relax our efforts to that end. But in all human affairs special encouragement is necessary to support strength of effort; and our INDUSTRIAL SUNDAY furnishes the occasion of raising our rallying cry "INDUSTRIAL CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP" to refresh the weary, and to call those to our flag who have not already joined us.

Mutual respect and sympathetic understanding, the glory of unselfishness and of self-sacrifice for our fellow-men, are among the chief lessons that Christ came to teach us, and by His own example, to inculcate. The principal aim of our "Industrial

Christian Fellowship" is to urge all Industrialists to lay firm hold of those principles, and by them to be guided in their own everyday lives. Christian Fellowship is not an idea to be taken up at odd times: it is a great principle to be laid hold of and applied to the common affairs of life, and to every one of our thoughts and actions — the leaven to permeate our whole existence.

It would be a wonderful world if all workers, whether leaders or rank and file, laid aside once and for all the spirit of combativeness, and directed their thoughts to co-operation and mutual help — then we might hope to find that Heaven upon earth which is implied by "The Peace of God which passeth all understanding."

A similar manifesto addressed to members, Trades Unions and all engaged in industry and signed by trades unionists and labor leaders reads as follows:

To Members of Trades Councils, Trade Unions, and All Engaged in Industry

INDUSTRIAL SUNDAY, APRIL 27TH, 1930

This is an age of badges, and of days set apart for special causes and occasions. This fact reflects in some degree the hurry, the impatience, and the superficiality of the age. It also reflects paradoxically the longing, the enquiring, and the searching for a firm foothold amidst the shifting sands of a changing social and economic system, and a challenge to hitherto accepted faiths and beliefs.

INDUSTRIAL SUNDAY was born out of this welter of transition; but it nevertheless expresses a great truth, namely, that the chief aim and end of Industry is Service, and that all engaged therein, according to their opportunity, capacity, and ability, have equal duties and responsibilities to one another, and to the society of which they are a part.

There is no need to dwell upon the ills inherent in our social order; they are everywhere apparent, and we are only too familiar with them. In our innermost soul we are ashamed of them. Maybe we lack faith and courage to deal with them, or console ourselves that things might be worse, or we shrink from the difficulty of the task. Yet they are a negation of Christian Fellowship, and, as such, it is a duty incumbent on all who see in

the term more than a conventional utterance to strive for the elimination of such ills.

INDUSTRIAL SUNDAY comes as a day set apart to revive hope, to seek fresh inspiration, to renew courage, and to strengthen faith in the belief and certain knowledge that those who set their faces toward the highway will see the dawn. We desire that the dawn shall rise in the full splendour of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man, in the spirit of Love and Co-operation.

This appeal is made that employer and employed, and all sorts and conditions of men, shall on this day hush the noise of strife, and by worship and prayer, in the spirit of Christian Fellowship, seek guidance that God's Will may be done as in Heaven so on earth. To this end we ask that all Trades Councils, Trade Unions, Employers' Organizations, and other similar bodies will come together, and that all Churches and Brotherhoods will observe Industrial Sunday.

In recognition of this the eleventh observance of Industrial Sunday the Industrial Christian Fellowship sent to all the established churches in Great Britain brief letters of commendation by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York which are presented here for their historic interest:

LAMBETH PALACE, S. E. 1

The desire of employers and representatives of labour who have expressed themselves as supporters of the observance of Industrial Sunday is an indication of the spirit which ought to govern our industrial relations. They recognise fully the place of Christian principles, and the Church ought to show its sympathy and its desire to do all that it can to make the rule of Christian principles prevail. This, I understand, is the aim of Industrial Sunday, and I commend its observance wherever possible this year on Sunday, April 27th.

COSMO CANTUAR:

1st January, 1930.

Bishopthorpe, York

I trust that Industrial Sunday, which is to be observed on April 27th, will be kept in Churches throughout the Northern Province. We all agree that nothing is so much needed as the bringing of

the Christian spirit to bear upon the problems of industrial life, whether in town or country; and the observance of this Sunday is one of the most effective ways of helping forward that great cause.

WILLIAM EBOR:

1st January, 1930.

THE Fellowship issues also a great number of tracts, pamphlets, bulletins, and literature on the subject of industrial relations. There is in addition at Fellowship House, the headquarters, a Postal Lending Library and a scheme of correspondence courses open to all. Study circles are constantly in session at headquarters and outlines are prepared for groups throughout the country. The monthly publication is the *Torch* in addition to the *Quarterly Intercession Papers*.

Perhaps the most dramatic event with which the Industrial Christian Fellowship has ever been associated was the Archbishop's intervention in the General Strike. No consideration of the contemporary rôle of the Church of England in industrial relations could omit a brief consideration of the courageous action of the Archbishop of Canterbury in issuing his Concordat during the stirring days of the General Strike in May 1926. In the midst of that momentous event in Britain's recent industrial life the Archbishop, acting in behalf of leaders in all the Christian Churches, issued as a basis for peace, a Concordat which was reprinted in the *Times* on Saturday, May 8, 1926. It reads as follows:

APPEAL OF THE CHURCHES

A POSSIBLE CONCORDAT

AFTER full conference with leaders of the Christian Churches in this country, the Archbishop of Canterbury desires to make public the following expression of considered opinion:

Representatives of the Christian Churches in England are convinced that a real settlement will only be achieved in a spirit of fellowship and co-operation for the common good, and not as a result of war. Realising that the longer the present struggle persists the greater will be the suffering and loss, they earnestly request that all parties concerned in this dispute will agree to resume negotiations undeterred by obstacles which have been created by the events of the last few days. If it should seem to be incumbent on us to suggest a definite line of approach, we would submit, as the basis of a possible Concordat, a return to the *status quo* of Friday last. We cannot but believe in the possibility of a successful issue. Our proposal should be interpreted as involving simultaneously and concurrently—

1. The cancellation on the part of the T. U. C. of the General Strike;
2. Renewal by the Government of its offer of assistance to the Coal Industry for a short definite period;
3. The withdrawal on the part of the mine owners of the new wages scales recently issued.

"WHILE I was opposed to the General Strike," said the Archbishop to the author, "I did believe it incumbent upon me in a great national emergency to give voice to the desire for reconciliation."

The Concordat was not as a matter of fact published until the day after it was issued, due to the government's control of the press. In point of fact when the Concordat was issued by the Archbishop there were no newspapers being published due to the General Strike, and mimeographed copies were dispatched by motorcycle to the chief industrial centres throughout England in co-operation with the Industrial Christian Fellowshop. Though this effort of mediation by the Archbishop was not immediately successful, it did arrest public attention as few efforts by the Church in our time have, by its courageous assertion of the moral right of the Church to speak on a grave industrial issue. The General Strike

itself was called off within four days of the issuance of this historic appeal.

Similarly the intervention of the bishops and Free Church leaders, on their own responsibility, in the coal stoppage in the following July, stands again as one of the most far-reaching efforts the Church leaders have ever made in England in an industrial dispute. In this case the Church leaders went so far as to present to the government a memorandum embodying suggestions for the termination of the coal dispute which had resulted from conferences between the Church leaders and the representatives of the Miners' Federation. The memorandum contained six proposals which resembled the proposal submitted earlier in the strike by the Chairman of the Coal Commission, and were based on the Coal Report itself. Opinions vary widely both within and without the Church as to the appropriateness and effectiveness of this latter action; it is not our intention to pass judgment on the procedure. For the purpose of this volume the Archbishop's appeal in the General Strike and the Bishops' intervention in the coal stoppage constitute the most far-reaching expressions of concern of the Church in industrial disputes in our time.

In recording, therefore, the work of the Industrial Christian Fellowship in the English Church today one must recognize the range of its effort from the Crusades in industrial areas to its responsible part in the Archbishop's appeal in the General Strike. Its work is unique among the activities closely associated with the Church of England today.

But no account of the Industrial Christian Fellowship could fail to include a specific mention of the personality of the late Studdert Kennedy — Prophet, Crusader, and

the great Messenger of its Missionary Crusades and Retreats. The Rev. P. T. R. Kirk, his friend and colleague, writes:

> He spoke to a world which is still bewitched with a sense of false values — in religion, in politics, in trade, and in social life — and he stood forth fearlessly as an undaunted champion of righteousness and truth. His passionate concern for the down-and-outs has probably done more to arouse the public conscience than all the endless discussions in Parliament could ever do; for he taught by example as well as precept. He had the human touch, if ever a man had it; and bore in his body the marks of the Lord Jesus.

In discussing the work of the Fellowship to the author, Studdert Kennedy described the Industrial Christian Fellowship as "great in vision; humble in its execution." Toward the achievement of that great vision he gave himself unsparingly until he had given his all. His last public utterance was at a great meeting at Wallasey on Merseyside under the auspices of the Industrial Christian Fellowship, which he concluded with his own poetic words:

We shall build on !
We shall build on !
On through the cynic's scorning,
On through the coward's warning,
On through the cheat's suborning,
We shall build on !
Firm on the Rock of Ages,
City of Saints and Sages,
Laugh while the tempest rages,
We shall build on !
Christ, though my hands be bleeding,
Fierce though my flesh be pleading,
Still let me see Thee leading,
Let me build on !
Till through death's cruel dealing,
Brain wrecked and reason reeling,
I hear Love's trumpets pealing,
And I pass on!

STUDDERT KENNEDY is no more, but the Industrial Christian Fellowship continues as a pledge that more and more its objectives will be made the practice in the industrial life of England.

THE CHURCH TUTORIAL CLASS MOVEMENT

ANOTHER of the activities of the Church which stands out as bearing upon the problem of the Church and industrial relations is the Church Tutorial Class Movement. Its influence is indirect but its importance cannot be overestimated; for it is concerned with the very basis of an intelligent understanding by the laity of Christianity and its application to the present problems. It represents the Adult Education Movement developing under the direction of the Church of England though not officially endorsed by it. Ten years ago the tutorial class movement was begun to provide opportunities for the honest and thorough-going study, under expert guidance, of the fundamentals of the Christian Faith, of the Bible in the light of modern scholarship, of the origin and history of the Church, of the practical application of Christ's teaching to the life of today and of other religious subjects.

This movement has grown in response to the need which it so effectively serves — the need of Churchmen to understand the basis and importance of the Christian ethic to the world and its problems. From a few classes a decade ago it has now become a movement of over 200 tutorial classes in the village, town, and city parishes in twenty-three dioceses about England. In every case the class numbering about thirty members is under the leadership of a minister of the Church of England studying such subjects as the Old and New Testaments. "Church History," "Expansion of Christianity," "Social Problems."

Already the movement has developed a definite method of instruction, it has begun the publication of its own literature, and has gathered together its own constituency. "The Church Tutorial Class Movement" says Dean Matthews, "has been inspired by the firm belief that true religion and sound learning are not hostile to one another, but rather intimately connected." When the Church turns to the task of the education of its own adult members, it has laid the foundation of its greater service in the modern world.

Within recent months the possibilities of this work have brought forth some far-reaching suggestions for uniting for the purpose of their collective advancement, the Universities and the Church of England, following the example of the Universities and Labor a quarter of a century ago. It is interesting to note that one of the proponents of this co-operation of the Church and the Universities is Albert Mansbridge, the founder of the Workers' Educational Association, who developed in 1903 a plan for the alliance of labor and learning.

CHAPTER III

THE LAMBETH CONFERENCE AND INDUSTRY

THE net result of the Christian Social Movement upon the Church's attitude toward industrial problems is reflected in the stirring pronouncements of the Lambeth Conference for 1920 on the social task of the Church. In the report of the Committee on Industrial and Social Problems, the Resolutions and the Encyclical, we find expression in the most courageous language of the implications of the social gospel in our modern industrial world. While the Lambeth Conference which meets for purpose of consultation at ten-year intervals, is not a legislative body of the bishops of the Anglican Church, its pronouncements may be regarded as the authentic and deliberate expressions of the mind of the Church on matters with which it deals.

The report of the Committee on Industrial and Social Problems, for example, sets forth the opportunity and duty of the Church with these opening words:

> The difficulty of this present time is the measure of the Church's opportunity. It is part of the heritage of war that our social and industrial problems should press upon us with redoubled insistence. But the turmoil among the nations has opened to the Church a door of witness and service.

THE report then proceeds to consider the opportunity of the Church in its relation to the Labor Movement, in the new problems of women in industry, and the Drink question, and to reaffirm the essential fact that the "Gospel of the Kingdom includes a Social Message." "The primary duty of the Church (by which we mean the whole society of Christian men) is to witness to the principles of Christ and His Kingdom." The specific need of the Christian ethic in considering such current matters as increased production and the responsibilities of capital is then set forth by way of illustration of the application of the Christian ideal to business practice.

Thus also the Committee submits for consideration the way in which the great principles which represent the Christian law of righteousness and love, the principles of human value, and brotherhood and mutual responsibility make inevitable such reforms as security against unemployment, reasonable leisure, a living wage, safeguards to life and health, and adequate housing.

Toward the fulfillment of these Christian duties, the Committee urges the law of love in our human dealing, the encouragement to all groups for the ministry of the Church, the organization of social service work, and the co-operation with other Christian forces for social welfare.

"We have suggested various lines of action," concludes the Committee, "which we feel assured it is our duty to follow, if we are to arrive at that better social and industrial order which we believe to be in accordance with God's will. But we desire to affirm, with unwavering conviction, that no outward adjustments can, by themselves, bring us near to the Kingdom of God. The love which conquers selfishness, and the passion for righteousness

which drives out greed, are gifts from above, and unless selfishness and greed are vanquished the most perfectly devised co-operative commonwealth will perish in ignoble ruin. There is doubtless a narrow other-worldiness which seeks a selfish security in another life, but the principles and powers of the other world offer the only hope of redemption for the individual and society. Man has an eternal destiny and his whole nature is therefore of infinite worth. To uplift humanity, and to redeem every child of man, the Son of God came into this world. By His incarnation He gave us the complete revelation of human duty. By His Cross and Passion He taught us the true value of life and death and opened the way of fellowship with God without which there can be no real fellowship of man with man. By the power of His resurrection and the loving inspiration of His Spirit, the Ultimate victory will be won, and the Church which is His Body can go forward, with confident hope, to fulfill by prayer and work and witness its Mission of seeking that Kingdom of love and righteousness which He will one day reveal in its perfect beauty."

This report in its completeness and with its clear-cut definitions of the duties of the Church was received by the Conference without a dissenting note. Thus far, it may be said to reflect the best thinking of the Church.

It is in the resolutions as finally adopted, however, that the judgments of the Lambeth Conference are officially confirmed. Because of the importance of these affirmations and their witness for the social gospel, we present without interpolations, these paragraphs from the Encyclical and Resolutions which bear specifically on the social and industrial questions.

We find that one idea runs through all our work in this Con-

ference, binding it together into a true unity. It is an idea prevalent and potent throughout the world today. It is the idea of Fellowship.

The minds and the hearts of men already go out to this idea. Men never prized the universal fellowship of mankind as they did when the Great War had for the time destroyed it. For four terrible years the loss of international fellowship emphasized its value. But the war which broke one fellowship created others. Nations became associated in alliances, which they cemented with their blood. In every national army, comradeship, novel and intense, united men of different classes and most various traditions. Thousands gained quite a new impression of what human nature might be, when they experienced the fellowship of man with man in danger and death. Comradeship ennobled war. Today men are asking, "Can it not ennoble peace ?"

But the power of fellowship was prominent even before the War. Through trade-unions and other societies it had changed the face of industrial life. It bound together workers in science, education, and social reform. It gave its character to our recreations. In these and many other phenomena of the times, there is the same motive taking different forms, the desire for fuller and freer life, and there is the same conviction that it is to be gained by effort in fellowship.

To a world that craves for fellowship we present our message. The secret of life is fellowship. So men feel, and it is true. But the fellowship with God is the indispensable condition of human fellowship. The secret of life is the double fellowship, fellowship with God and with men. . .

This, then, is the object of the Church. In the prosecution of this object it must take account of every fellowship that exists among men, must seek to deepen and purify it, and, above all, to attach it to God.

INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

THE relation of men one to another in industry or trade is a fellowship which God intended to exist and create to be good. Yet today we are confronted with a world-wide upheaval and embittered antagonism in social relations, the course of which none can foresee. We seem to be involved in an internecine conflict between capital and labor in which each aims at an exclusive supremacy. Any such supremacy would be inconsistent with the Christian ideal of fellowship. And the Church insists that, in its

essential nature, industry is not a conflict but a fellowship. Again, every trade or profession ought to be producing something which men want and ought to want; and so far each is doing service to the community. But in industrial life all such service depends on combined effort. It is rendered in co-operation.

The message of Christianity in this matter is to make men see that here they can and must "in love serve one another." To all concerned, employer and employed, director and workman, investor of money and investor of brain and muscle — to all alike the Church must say: "Put first your service to the community and your fellowship in that service. Do your work heartily, keenly, carefully as to God, because you are benefiting His children. Have good will, and expect others to have it. Rearrange your mutual relations, as men co-operating in fellowship, not competing in suspicion and hostility." These are fundamental principles. Beyond them lies the whole region of practical application.

In the technical side of economics, which is a science for experts, the Church has no authority. But whenever in the working out of economic or of political theory moral issues are directly involved, the Church has a duty to see that the requirements of righteousness are faced and fairly met. The Church will, for instance, maintain that fellowship is endangered if all who serve do not share equitably in the results of labor. For this is a part of Christian justice. The Church will fearlessly claim that the human character of every worker is more sacred than his work; that his worth as a child of God and member of the fellowship must not be forgotten, or imperilled by any form of industrial slavery. For this belongs to the spirit of Christian liberty. In all such things the Church will, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, proclaim its message of brotherhood and mutual service, founded on the divine purpose for men, and will aid the community in giving active expression of it. But our hope throughout is in the Spirit of God. In no other way, as we believe, can society recover itself than by recovering the plan of God for its well-being, and by reliance on His inspiration for realizing that plan. Such are the principles and thoughts which underlie our Resolutions on Industrial and Social Problems.

CONCLUSION

To a world full of trouble and perplexity, of fear and despair, of disconnected effort and aimless exertion, we present that which

we have been permitted to see of the purpose of God. It is enough to guide us. But, if it often seems that the message of religion is too general and its application to details too difficult, then it is our duty to recall to ourselves that we have to do, not with a theory, but with a Person. God is working out His purpose. If in simplicity we give ourselves to Him, He will work with us beyond our understanding: and we shall have contributed to the fellowship of man, because we have been working in fellowship with God.

RESOLUTIONS

FORMALLY ADOPTED BY THE CONFERENCE

13. The Conference recommends that, wherever it has not already been done, Councils representing all Christian Communions should be formed within such areas as may be deemed most convenient, as centres of united effort to promote the physical, moral, and social welfare of the people, and the extension of the rule of Christ among all nations and over every region of human life.

14. It is important to the cause of reunion that every branch of the Anglican Communion should develop the constitutional government of the Church and should make a fuller use of the capacities of its members for service.

SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL QUESTIONS

73. We desire to emphasize our conviction that the pursuit of mere self-interest, whether individual or corporate, will never bring healing to the wounds of Society. This conviction is at once exemplified and reinforced by what has happened in and since the war. Nor is this less true when that self-interest is equipped with every advantage of science and education. Our only hope lies in reverent allegiance to the Person of Christ, whose Law is the Law of Love, in acceptance of His principles, and reliance on His power.

74. An outstanding and pressing duty of the Church is to convince its members of the necessity of nothing less than a fundamental change in the spirit and working of our economic life. This change can only be effected by accepting as the basis of industrial relations the principles of co-operation in service for the common good in place of unrestricted competition for private or sectional advantage. All Christian people ought to take an active part in bringing about this change, by which alone we can hope to remove class dissensions and resolve industrial discords.

75. The Church cannot in its corporate capacity be an advocate or partisan, "a judge or a divider," in political or class disputes where moral issues are not at stake: nevertheless even in matters of economic and political controversy the Church is bound to give its positive and active corporate witness to the Christian principles of justice, brotherhood, and the equal and infinite value of every human personality.

76. In obedience to Christ's teaching as to covetousness and self-seeking, the Conference calls upon all members of His Church to be foremost both by personal action and sacrifice in maintaining the superiority of the claims of human life to those of property. To this end it would emphasize the duty which is laid upon all Christians of setting human values above dividends and profits in their conduct of business, of avoiding extravagance and waste, and of upholding a high standard of honour and thoroughness in work. In a word, they must set an example in subordinating the claim for rights to the call of duty.

77. Members of the Church are bound to take an active part, by public action and by personal service, in removing those abuses which depress and impoverish human life. In company with other citizens and organizations they should work for reform, and particularly for such measures as will secure the better care of children, including real opportunity for an adequate education; protection of the workers against unemployment; and the provision of healthy homes.

78. The Church is bound to use its influence to remove inhuman or oppressive conditions of labour in all parts of the world, especially among the weaker races, and to give its full support to those clauses in the League of Nations Covenant which aim at raising by international agreement, the status of industrial workers in all countries.

79. The Conference notes with deep interest the prohibition by the will of the people of the sale and manufacture of intoxicating drinks in the Republic of the United States of America, and of their sale in most of the Provinces of Canada, and commends this action to the earnest and sympathetic attention of the Christian Church throughout the world. The conference urges members of the Church in other countries —

1. To support such legislation as will lead to a speedy reduction in the use of intoxicants;
2. To recognize the duty of combating the evil of intemperance by personal example and willing self-sacrifice.

80. If the Church is to witness without reproach for justice and brotherhood in the world, it must show itself serious and insistent in reforming abuses within its own organization, and in promoting brotherhood among its own members. Further, if Christian witness is to be fully effective it must be borne by nothing short of the whole body of Christian people.

When the Bishops met at the Lambeth Conference in July 1930, they adopted as their own the resolutions on the Church and Industry as adopted by the Conference in 1920 and as set forth above. The single resolution on the subject as adopted by the 1930 Conference reads as follows:

29. Believing that peace within the nation and among the nations is bound up with the acceptance of Christian principles in the ordering of social and industrial life, the Conference reaffirms the Resolutions (73–80) of the Lambeth Conference of 1920, which deal with that subject. While there is in many countries an increasing desire for justice and therefore a growing will to peace, the world is still faced with grave social and economic evils which are an offence to the Christian conscience, and a menace to peace. All these evils call for the best scientific treatment on international lines, and also for a practical application of the principle of united service and self-sacrifice on the part of all Christian people.

The emphasis on the international character of current economic problems then was the new focus of their recommendations. In the Report of the Life and Witness of the Christian Community there is contained in one of the sub-divisions on War and Peace a specific reference to the international aspect of the industrial problem, in these words: "One fact is clear, the whole subject is international in its scope. Economic unrest in any part of the world affects the whole. . . The international implications of the most serious economic problem of our time —unemployment—are equally manifest."

Such in brief is the focus of the Report. Thus it is that the Christian Social Movement gathers momentum in the work and life of the Church.

United States

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE INTERESTS OF LABOR

THE WORK begun in England by the leaders of the Christian Social Movement became the ferment which was presently to be reflected in an awakened interest in industrial problems in the Episcopal Church in the United States. One of the first of these efforts was that of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor. Indeed, the first and most casual inquiry into the past efforts of the Episcopal Church in the United States to understand its relation to the problems of industry, in the light of Christian principles, brings one face to face with this organization commonly designated, C.A.I.L.[1]

A group of clergy met on May 18, 1887, in the clergy house of the Order of the Holy Cross in New York City to discuss the Labor Movement and the interest the clergy and laity should take in it. It was the common opinion of the group that the Church, by reason of her ministry and stewardship of the interests of all mankind, had a real concern in the efforts of those involved in industry to maintain their opportunity for development and appreciation of life. Therefore those gathered to-

[1] Traditionally pronounced as one word, "Cail."

gether organized to promote that stewardship. At this meeting and throughout the whole history of C.A.I.L. the Association's scope of interest and activity was felt to be defined by the extent to which human values and personality were involved. C.A.I.L. made no attempt to concern itself with the technical processes of industry; where the issue was personal rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" (as a means to spiritual ends), it showed an interest and sympathy. The charge that the Church was indifferent to social questions of increasing importance was felt by the group to have a certain amount of justification and steps were taken to meet the reproach with a devoted and consecrated organization. Present at this initial meeting in the clergy house were the Rev. J. O. S. Huntington, O.H.C.; the Rev. B. F. DeCosta, D.D.; the Rev. Floyd W. Tomkins; the Rev. Edward Kenney; the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss; the Rev. S. Allen, O.H.C.; the Rev. W. H. Cook; the Rev. John Anketell; and the Rev. J. W. Kramer.

One month later a public meeting took place, this time at Calvary Chapel, in New York. The name, "Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor," together with certain definite principles, methods and duties, were adopted, made known to the gathering and an address was given by the chairman, Dr. DeCosta. The pastoral letter of the Rt. Rev. Henry Codman Potter, Bishop of New York, was read and declared to be a true expression of the intentions and ideals of C.A.I.L. In the letter, Bishop Potter pointed out the close unity and common life of the Church in apostolic times.

. . . the Church should be leading us through those incidents of her pentecostal history when "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul; neither said any of them aught

of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common" (Acts 3: 32). Let it be granted without reserve that such words describe an era . . . which . . . could not last any more than it would be for the good of the greatest number that it should last. Still the fact remains that Christianity brought into the world a new law of brotherhood . . . "charge them that are rich in this world that they be ready to give, glad to distribute." These words and others like them did not mean the mere giving of doles and indiscriminate distribution of alms. . . . What the laborer wants from his employer is fair and fraternal dealings, not almsgiving, and a recognition of his manhood rather than a condescension to his inferiority.

THE plan of organization adopted by C.A.I.L. was suggested by the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, one of the founders and a clergyman who had been active in the work of relating Church to industry in the Church of the Carpenter, Boston, and as editor of *Dawn, a Journal of Christian Socialism*. Though Mr. Bliss himself was committed to a definite system of political principles the Association was determined to be independent of any "party interests," devoted simply to the Christian duty of laboring in behalf of all men, regardless of class, nation, or race, which distinctions were in themselves a negation of the "law of brotherhood."

As one pursues his way through the history of this Association the fact that stands out most prominently is that while C.A.I.L. drew its membership from among Church people, and acted always in the character of a Church body, it was nevertheless an organization that had much meaning and importance for individuals and groups not connected with the Church in any way. Throughout the records are repeated testimonials to the value of C.A.I.L.'s work, in newspapers, public forums, magazines, mass-meetings, conferences, reports, and sociological surveys.

At a meeting on May 18th in Calvary Chapel (preliminary to the gathering described above), it was suggested that C.A.I.L. become a local of the Knights of Labor, but this proposal was definitely rejected and followed by an agreement to make the Association a society within the Church, hence the use of the word "Church" in the title, to make it clear that the Association was within the organic life of that body. The briefest statement of C.A.I.L.'s principles and purposes is its own Constitution:

C.A.I.L.

The Church Association for the Advancement of the interests of Labor, believing that the clergy and laity of the Church should become personally interested in the social questions now being agitated, should inform themselves of the nature of the issues presented, and should be prepared to act as the necessities of the day may demand, sets forth the following principles and methods of work for its members:

PRINCIPLES

1. It is the essence of the teachings of Jesus Christ that God is the Father of all men and that all men are brothers.
2. God is the sole possessor of the Earth and its fullness; Man is but the steward of God's bounties.
3. Labor being the exercise of body, mind and spirit in the broadening and elevating of human life, it is the duty of every man to labor diligently.
4. Labor, as thus defined, should be the standard of social worth.
5. When the divinely-intended opportunity to labor is given to all men, one great cause of the present widespread suffering and destitution will be removed.

METHODS

1. Prayer.
2. Sermons, setting forth the teachings of the gospel as the guide to the solution of every question involved in the interests of Labor.
3. The proper use of the press and the circulation of tracts as occasion may require.

4. Lectures and addresses on occasions when the interests of Labor may be advanced.

5. The encouragement by precept and example of a conscientious use of the ballot.

SPECIAL DUTIES

It shall be the duty of each member to take, or read at least one journal devoted to the interests of Labor.

It shall be the duty of each member to devote a certain portion of his time to study of the social questions of the day in the light of the Incarnation.

COLLECT

O Lord Jesus Christ, who didst glorify labor by Thy life of toil, bless, we beseech Thee, the efforts of our Society, that we may both rejoice to work with Thee, and may also strive to open to all our brothers and sisters the way to honest labor, and secure to them the fruits of their toil; Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest one God, world without end. Amen.

THE work of C.A.I.L. went forward in a dignified manner, in the fine spirit of idealism and intelligence that was characteristic of its members. Chapters were formed in several cities outside of New York, though during the earlier part of its history the Association's work took place on or near the Atlantic seaboard. It was not until later that interests were developed in the South and the Far and Middle West. One must remember that at the end of the nineteenth century industry had not expanded very far west, where the economic life was still agricultural and of a frontier character. The problems of the Machine Age, with its great productive forces, employing interests, labor movement, and industrial communities were unknown to the vast interior of the United States. In 1890 land was still to be had in large tracts by government grant, and by "homesteading." In the month of November 1887, sermons were preached in many

churches, at the instigation of C.A.I.L., on the theme that "Labor should be the standard of social worth." On November 11th, Dr. DeCosta resigned and the Rt. Rev. Frederick Dan Huntington, D.D., first Bishop of Central New York, was elected president, in which office he continued until his death in 1904. Father Allen, O.H.C., was secretary then, having succeeded the Rev. Edward Kenney.

It must not be supposed that the inception and progress of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor met with universal sympathy. From various quarters there came criticism and disapproval of the society's purposes and ideas, and some of its members suffered embarrassment, and ridicule, because of their connection with C.A.I.L., though in later years they were to become honored and respected persons of wide reputation. But in spite of objections which were raised now and then, the Association advanced in the way of activity and organization, soon including in its membership, as honorary vice-presidents, forty-seven bishops and many prominent clergymen.

One of the most interesting and energetic chapters of C.A.I.L. was in the parish of St. Michael's Church, New York City. For many years, the rector, Dr. John P. Peters, prominent Churchman, archaeologist and Old Testament scholar, was chairman of the chapter, and devoted much of his time and interest to the Association's work. Miss Harriette A. Keyser, for many years secretary and organizer for the General Association, was vice-president of this chapter, and also Miss Margaret S. Lawrence, who later became chairman of C.A.I.L. executive board and correspondence committee, and assistant secretary of the General Society.

By the year 1890 C.A.I.L. was rapidly becoming known to the unions and workers as their friend and supporter. From the very beginning it was the belief of C.A.I.L. that organized labor was a genuine and natural reflection of the principle of brotherhood, and necessary if workingmen were to deal on anything like equal terms with organized capital. In allying the Association with the unions it was explained that unorganized labor always profits by the gains made by the organized. Since workers who had not united with their fellows were merely millions of individuals there was not much hope for comprehensive and effective co-operation with them.

A mass-meeting of worker-communicants was held in January 1890, in Annex Hall, New York City, for a discussion and public hearing of labor's problems and the proposed solutions. This meeting was followed by another in April, and a third in Cooper Union in the month of December. In May C.A.I.L. came out in support of the Working Women's Society of New York in efforts to improve the status of women and children in retail stores. The Association called the clergy of the diocese to a meeting of the W.W.S. in Chickering Hall on May 6th and the problem was stated and considered, with the result that the cause of women and children in retail stores was given a proper hearing and resulted in the formation of the Consumer's League by the W.W.S. In the same year a resolution was offered to the Diocesan Convention recommending that all printing, stationery, and the like for the Diocese of New York be given to firms which paid no less than the minimum standard-wage in the trade. (This resolution was adopted at the following Convention, in 1891.) Labor Day services, by

the action of C.A.I.L. were instituted for the first time on the eve of Labor Day, in 1890.

Bishop Potter of the Diocese of New York, who had for many years been preaching sermons on social themes, became an active member of C.A.I.L. Highly respected by people of all interests in the city, he served as arbiter time after time in strikes and lock-outs, with success and satisfaction to both parties. In 1910 Miss Harriette A. Keyser published a biography, entitled "Bishop Potter, The People's Friend," in which she gives us a very valuable record of that great ecclesiastic's work as mediator in industrial disputes and supporter of organized labor's programme.

Unfortunately for C.A.I.L., the Order of the Holy Cross moved its residence from New York City, in 1892, to Westminster, Maryland, and consequently Father Huntington and Father Allen were no longer able to keep up their active participation in the Association's affairs. It was necessary, of course, for Father Allen to give up his duties as secretary, and Mr. William H. Van Allen, a teacher at the Trinity School, succeeded to the office. The loss of Father Huntington's energies was keenly felt. It will be remembered that the principles of French syndicalism had begun to permeate the American Labor Movement a decade or two before, with the result that the "Knights of Labor" sprang into existence as a union of unions. Father Huntington was a member of this organization, and naturally had the prestige and ability needed to mediate situations and to guide groups along paths of truth and good sense. This was seen in the masterly way in which he enlisted the trust of both miners and operators in an Illinois strike, and brought about a satis-

factory agreement. There is a story told of how the miners expressed their appreciation. Unable to give Father Huntington a costly gift, or money, they observed that his boots were worn and badly broken, and so presented him with a new pair of shoes !

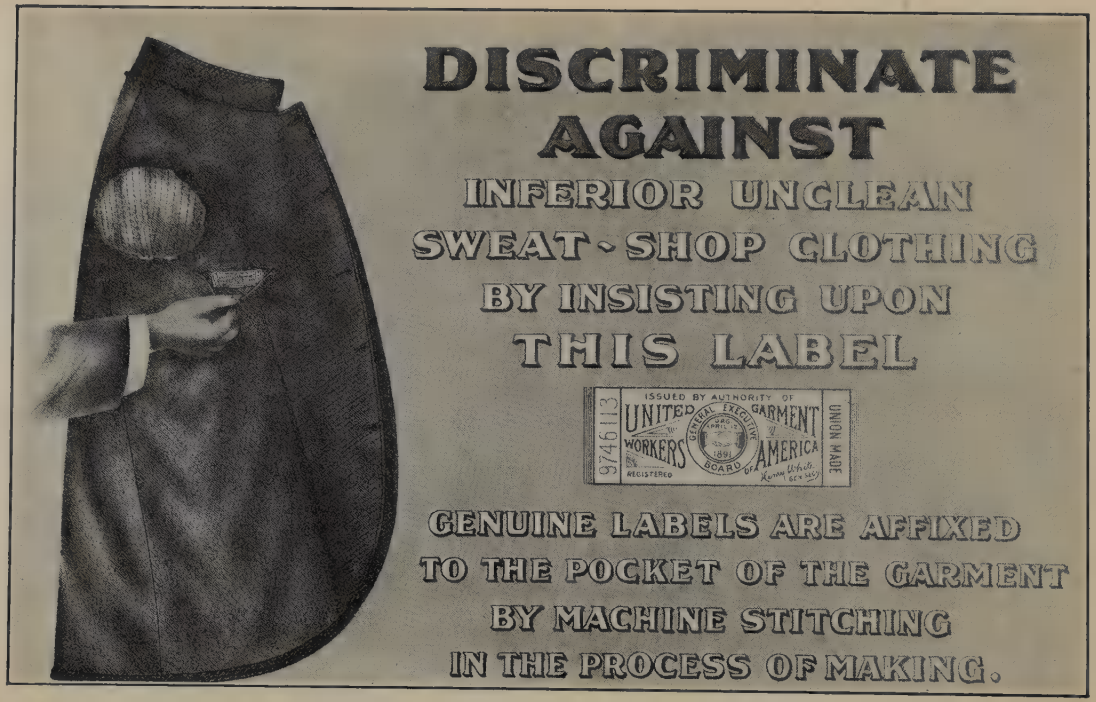
The Association's relations with the larger organization, the Knights of Labor, were not entirely severed. In the same year that Father Huntington moved to Westminster (1892) the Rev. Joseph Reynolds, who had been a Knight of Labor and was eminently fitted to understand and co-operate with workers, was elected vice-president of C.A.I.L.

As the complexity of industry increased and the interests of employer and worker took on more distinctive features, points of friction increased, and organized, planned strikes came rapidly to be the weapon of the workers. As the strikes and lock-outs grew in number, the necessity for some kind of machinery to settle points at issue became more apparent. And so it was that in 1893, the secretary of C.A.I.L., Mr. Van Allen, put a plan for mediation before Bishop Potter, who agreed to it gladly. It was suggested that a Committee on Conciliation and Mediation be formed with Bishop Potter as impartial chairman, and two other members, one to represent capital and the other labor. This committee was soon in existence, with the Hon. Seth Low standing for employers and John Newton Bogart, a member of C.A.I.L. and of the Typographical Union, representing the workers. A year later this committee was changed to the New York Council of Mediation and Conciliation, and the number of members increased from three to fifteen, with equal representation for the public, for capital, and labor. Bishop Potter continued in the chair, and

Unorganized Labor—12 Hours—Sweat Shop

Organized Labor—8 Hours—Clothing Factory

ONE OF THE POSTERS USED BY C.A.I.L.



ANOTHER POSTER USED BY C.A.I.L.

no better or more able chairman could have been chosen. He was respected by the employing class and loved by the workers, who wildly cheered his name at a mass-meeting in Cooper Union at the time of the original committee's institution. The Council functioned for many years, and Bishop Potter's name became a symbol for fair judgments. In one year alone, 1896, he acted as arbiter of an Electrical Workers' strike and a Lithographers' strike, and through judicious and understanding action prevented a strike among the Marble-Workers, securing them a deserved wage-increase without the troubles of deliberate idleness. Often Bishop Potter's own home was used as the meeting place between the contending parties in a dispute.

The practice had become common in the garment industry of giving men and women work to do at home, which led to surreptitious child labor, carriage of disease germs from badly ventilated and crowded rooms, and disregard of healthful and decent hours of work. A study of the situation by C.A.I.L. led to the formation of a Sweatshop Committee in 1894, with the Rev. Francis MacTetrich as its chairman. In 1895, the Rev. F. J. Clay Moran was appointed and worked effectively for many years until his death.

A Cloak-makers' strike led to the calling of a meeting by the General Society in St. Michael's Church on March 2, 1895, when two speakers from the Cloak-makers' Union explained the oppressive conditions leading to the strike then in progress and described the sweating system as a practice most inimical to the interests of the working people. The Sweatshop Committee, with the assistance of a similar committee from the St. Michael's Chapter, was able to do a great deal of investigation and publicity

work which helped bring about the downfall of the sweating system within C.A.I.L.'s own lifetime.

In the same year a Tenement House Committee was appointed to look into housing conditions in New York City and make an advisory report so that proper action might be taken. There is no call to reproduce their findings. Tenement house conditions, not yet entirely corrected, were unspeakable at that time, and the C.A.I.L. committee played a vital part in reforming the housing laws of the city. Dr. Annie Sturgis Daniel, whose work as an out-of-door physician of the New York Infirmary for Women and Children had given her a rare opportunity for observation headed the committee. Dr. Daniel's information was recognized by the Federal and State governments, and she was called as a witness in the housing investigations. She was the first to declare that all manufacturing must be taken out of the tenement houses and enlisted the C.A.I.L. in the work of protest. Throughout its history, one of the Association's greatest contributions was its outspoken support of worthy legislation.

Mr. Van Allen had had to give up his work as secretary of C.A.I.L. in 1894, when he took orders and left New York City, and Mr. Charles Delancey Allen filled the office until 1896, when he resigned because of the press of other business. Miss Harriette A. Keyser, long active and a tower of strength in C.A.I.L., became secretary and organizer and later became second vice-president, remaining in these positions until her resignation in 1925.

The Press Committee had been publishing quarterly the official organ of C.A.I.L., under the name of *Hammer and Pen,* but in 1898 it was made a monthly publication, and Edward Ransford, a communicant of St. Michael's and a member of Typographical Union No. 6,

became editor. In its nature as the magazine of a Church society, *Hammer and Pen* is a most unique and arresting publication. Its articles and editorials were extremely well informed, commenting on the industrial news of foreign countries as well as affairs of America. An attitude of open-mindedness and fairness was preserved, in accordance with its expressed policy, and yet necessity of observing that policy was never allowed to inhibit a stout declaration of truth and right. Perhaps the character of many of the *Hammer and Pen* features were quite contemporary and not adapted to present-day methods. For example, the advisability of printing "white-lists" (names of firms employing union labor and paying union wages) which the magazine published might be questioned today if they appeared in a Church paper.

Hammer and Pen ran special columns every issue, such as "Labor Troubles" and "Labor Drift," in which were given short and concise summaries of various situations in the general field of labor interests. A quotation from an editorial in the *Hammer and Pen* of November 1905, just after the Social Democrat Revolution in Russia, indicates the paper's breadth and sympathy and interest in the world-wide Labor Movement. "These events point to the freedom of the Russian people and that Finland and Poland will be assured of their rights, and so all friends of liberty who have sympathized with the oppressed must rejoice that from this chaotic struggle, liberty will arise." In 1903, the Christian Social Union became affiliated with C.A.I.L. and maintained a page in *Hammer and Pen* for its own peculiar news until 1907, when the Society withdrew its connexion. For several years after Mr. Ransford's retirement, the paper was edited by Miss Keyser.

Special C.A.I.L. services were held every year, to which delegates from the unions and the public were invited. In 1892 Selwyn Image, of London, had written a beautiful and stirring "Hymn of Redemption" especially for the service under the auspices of C.A.I.L. at Trinity Church, New York, on the evening of Labor Day. It was the custom at the special services in the succeeding years to sing all or part of this hymn, which C.A.I.L. felt to be its own. The labor representatives who came, sat in reserved pews, and the large number always present testified to the value of the services. In the *Hammer and Pen,* January 1898, it was declared that "Though a Church society — rather, because it is a Church society — C.A.I.L. is intensely human, and, like Him of old, for that reason looks upon nothing that concerns mankind's best interest as foreign to the end for which it was instituted. It is ready and willing — ready and desirous — to co-operate with all who believe in the Brotherhood of Man, so far, at least, as their endeavors are in harmony with the laws of morality and the State." What truer or more genuine way to express this principle of fraternity between a church group and a secular group than in the corporate fellowship of divine service?

The first attempt to reach the General Convention was made in 1898. The Convention met that year in Washington, D. C., and the Rev. Joseph Reynolds, in his authority as vice-president, presented the principles, aims, and works of C.A.I.L. in a speech to the House of Bishops, at the same time distributing a printed report. The report was referred to the Committee on the State of the Church, but no comment or action on the part of that body was returned.

When, in 1899, an appeal was made to the Church to

support the efforts of the Actors' Society to secure one day of rest for the dramatic profession, C.A.I.L. responded by calling meetings which were addressed by actors and Churchmen. On January 19, 1899, the Actors' Church Alliance was organized, with Bishop Potter, and the Rev. Walter E. Bentley, secretary. Mr. Bentley of C.A.I.L., an actor before taking Orders and an ardent advocate of closer relation between the Church and the stage, took an active part in the A.C.A. The vice-presidents of the Alliance were prominent actors, the last being George Arliss, an uncompromising advocate of Sunday rest. The traditional understanding and sympathy between the Church group and the economic group is due, in a large measure to the influence of C.A.I.L.

The General Convention met in San Francisco in 1901, and Miss Keyser attended as a delegate from the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor. A mass-meeting under the auspices of C.A.I.L. was held during the Convention at the Alhambra Theatre, at which Bishop Coleman presided and introduced Bishop Potter, who spoke about the work of C.A.I.L. and commended the Society to the Convention. Miss Keyser gave a brief explanation of its organization, and the meeting closed after a speech by Frederick Foster, of the local Typographical Union. A Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor was appointed at the Convention, on the recommendation of the Rev. Randolph H. McKim, of Washington, who in his turn, was largely influenced by the deeds of C.A.I.L. A quotation from Dr. McKim's resolution will explain the Commission's nature and purpose. "We asked him, (Mr. Williams, Commissioner of Alien Labor in Canada) if it were not true that there was among laboring men a feeling of estrangement from

the Church, because laboring men had come to believe that the Church had no care or thought for the poor or for the wage-worker, but gave the most attention to the well-to-do. The question arose whether it would not have a good effect, if the Church would take some step in the matter. . . This Commission is to study this question." It was an important step, a vital step, and C.A.I.L. was overjoyed. The thing for which the Association had been working was coming to pass.

At the same time that C.A.I.L. was trying to secure the official recognition of the Church for the problem of Church and industry, it was continuing in its own independent concerns. Attention to the problems arising out of child labor were coming more and more before the public mind, and C.A.I.L. took a real part in this "educational" activity. One entire number of *Hammer and Pen* was devoted to a discussion of child labor, and the proposed amelioration. Miss Keyser had been sent to southern New Jersey in 1902, to investigate child labor in the glass industry. Soon after she was sent south, where conditions were extremely bad, to help in child-labor legislation, when she co-operated in the promotion of several laws restricting the exploitation of little children.

The Triennial Convention held in Boston in 1904, heard once more from C.A.I.L., and this time the Association succeeded in making an impression which received formal notice from the floor of the Convention. On October 13th, there was a mass-meeting in historic Faneuil Hall, at which C.A.I.L.'s work was received and suggestions heard from clergymen and laymen. The speakers were Henry Abrahams, Secretary of the Central Labor Union of Boston, Dr. John Peters, of St. Michael's, New

York, the Rev. Charles H. Brent, Mr. C.-E. A. Winslow, of the Institute of Technology and a member of the Boston Chapter, and Miss Keyser.

The Association's patience and perseverance through the long years of partial indifference shown by the Church to its work at last bore tangible fruit. At this Boston Convention, the C.A.I.L. meeting drew up the following memorial:

To the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America:

The last General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church appointed an Industrial Committee consisting of three Bishops, three presbyters and three laymen. The Executive Committee of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor respectfully request that said committee be discontinued.

Since the last Triennial Convention, the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor has pursued its work, giving special attention to conciliation and arbitration in labor difficulties; and as it is distinctly a Church association, admitting only communicants of the Protestant Episcopal Church to full membership and having seventy-five bishops of that Church as vice-presidents, the Executive Committee of this Association begs to present the following report, and respectfully requests that the Committee on the State of the Church pay especial attention to the work of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, and if possible, give it official recognition.

An answer to this petition came from the Committee on the State of the Church in its report dealing with the relations of the Church to both Capital and Labor: "Your Committee desires to commend the work of such organizations as have contributed to bring about the recognition of mutual responsibility, and in this connection would make special mention of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor." Joys seldom come singly, and C.A.I.L.'s happiness was intensified

by a message stating that the Society had received a silver medal from the St. Louis Exposition, as a recognition of its work in the field of industrial relations.

Bishop Huntington entered into his rest in July of 1904, and Bishop Potter was elected to the presidency of C.A.I.L. in his stead. Before the organization of C.A.I.L. which was due in a large measure to his influence, Bishop Huntington had thought out the relation of the Church to the vexed problems of labor and was ready to aid their resolution. He never swerved from his duty to all sorts and conditions of men, and was never indifferent to questions bearing on the betterment of social conditions. Bishop Potter entered the office several months after Bishop Huntington's death, being the only logical person to assume the leadership of C.A.I.L.

While pursuing its own lines of activity in the field of the Church's relation and contacts with labor, the Association also cast sympathetic and interested glances at the manœuvres of other religious bodies along this line. No formal attempt to study their work was made until May 1906, when a committee was appointed by C.A.I.L. to study the filiations of the denominations to labor, but friendly connexions were kept up during the course of the Association's activity. This spirit of concord and understanding was reciprocated in many instances, and recognition was paid to C.A.I.L.'s leadership in the field of Church-industry relations on many occasions. In the *Outlook* of May 8, 1904, there appeared an article in which the author recounts a conversation with Mr. Joseph Barondess, a prominent Jewish labor speaker. He said: "With men like Bishop Potter of New York; Jenkins Lloyd Jones of Chicago; Dean Hodges of Boston, staunch friends of the laboring people, the Christian

Church may well boast of the workingmen's sympathy. Look at the C.A.I.L. within the ranks of the Episcopal Church, representing a whole army of busy promoters of Labor's needs."

A very definite contribution to child-labor reform was achieved on May 4, 1907, when the Page Child Labor Bill was passed in the New York State Legislature. Miss Lily D. Foster, a deputy State Factory Inspector and chairman of C.A.I.L. legislative committee, presented a bill for restriction of child labor to eight hours, from 8 A.M. to 5 P.M., to Senator Page, and he agreed with enthusiasm to do all in his power to secure its passage. It was introduced and seemed for a while about to be surely defeated, but C.A.I.L. sent letters to ministers and labor unions in the various constituencies, and they in their turn exerted such pressure on their representatives that the bill was finally passed. The technique that was used in this case was admirably suited to the situation, and C.A.I.L.'s courage and energy resulted in the incorporation into State laws of one of the most adequate bills for the protection of children in industry that had been created up to that time.[2]

A direct line of connexion may be seen running from the C.A.I.L. convention in the Synod Hall, in New York City in May 1906, to the institution of a permanent Joint Commission on the Relation of Capital and Labor at the General Convention in Richmond, Va., in 1907. In the report of the existing Joint Commission appointed by the Convention of 1904 it was stated that "In regard to the

[2] "This eight-hour law for factory children placed New York State at the head of the country with respect to limitations for such employment. There is no question but what a large share of the credit for this advanced law belongs to Miss Foster, Miss Keyser, and the other indefatigable workers in the C.A.I.L." By George A. Hall, Secretary, New York Child Labor Committee.

establishment of sympathetic relations with labor organizations, . . . we believe it is of essential importance." The report referred to the work of the Rev. Mr. Stelzle in the Presbyterian Communion; to communications received from C.A.I.L., the Christian Social Union, the Companions of the Holy Cross, the Eight Hour League, and the Christian Socialist Fellowship; and to the lessons to be learned from the activities of those Church organizations. It was urged that the Church, through the General Convention, should "take up labor matters as a Church, not leaving such action entirely in the hands of any Church society." Bishop Potter, who was president of C.A.I.L., was chairman of the Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor. In this same General Convention the House of Bishops passed a resolution to the effect that child labor was unchristian and recommended to all employers that they assist in efforts to prevent the exploitation of children in industry.

The next month, November, the Diocesan Convention of New York was convened, and the C.A.I.L. was well represented. In accordance with the suggestions of the Joint Commission at the General Convention, the Diocese set up a Social Service Commission — the very thing for which C.A.I.L. had been working. Here, at last, the Church in its official organization, was adopting a formal policy toward social problems. The Church, as an organized body, and not one or two small groups, was taking up labor and social matters.

The Association had been working with might and main to make those in labor circles feel that the Church was concerned, and now the Church was taking official action to formulate that interest.

In order to relate itself with the various diocesan social

service commissions, which were being formed in rapid succession after the example of New York, so that there would be as much co-operation and understanding as possible always existing between the groups, C.A.I.L. called a convention of the commissions in May 1908. Plans for working hand-in-hand between C.A.I.L. and the commissions were discussed, and a committee was appointed to confer with the different diocesan commissions, to suggest lines of activity and work out plans for organizing auxiliary work.

C.A.I.L.'s work as an association for the advancement of the interests of labor, was progressing steadily throughout this first decade of the twentieth century and continued on into the next. The death of Bishop Potter on July 21, 1908, was a severe blow, and felt by many in and out of the Church. Samuel Gompers, on behalf of the American Federation of Labor, wrote: "A movement for the social betterment of all the people had no stauncher advocate nor more earnest worker than Bishop Potter. His every work, his every act, was an effort and an appeal for a higher and better life for all." The November *Hammer and Pen* had a long editorial expressing the Association's indebtedness to Bishop Potter's active interest in labor problems, and the superb intelligence and thought that he devoted to the problems of Church and industrial relations. Unfortunately, it was announced in this same number that because of lack of funds, the *Hammer and Pen* would no longer be issued regularly, but only when there were funds to pay for it. *Hammer and Pen* had been an invaluable medium of communication and review, and its discontinuance was a serious handicap to the members of C.A.I.L., living as they did in all parts of the United States.

The fight for a day of rest for workers in different trades had become a fight in earnest. C.A.I.L. was working hand-in-hand with the unions in this direction, held meetings and public forums, wrote letters, preached sermons on the topic of "Sabbath Day of Rest," and did everything in its power to secure for laboring people one day in the week for rest and relaxation. Support of constructive labor legislation went on with unabated energy, and it was due, in good measure, to the co-operation of C.A.I.L. that such bills as the Jackson (54 hour) Bill for women and minors (a real gain in 1911 !), the Sabbath Immigration Bill, the Cobb Employment Agencies Bill, and others were passed. C.A.I.L. was as positive in its disapproval of legislation as it was in its approval, and vehement protests were entered against the Assembly Bill (Int. No. 1258) seeking to relieve property owners of the necessity of making further alterations in the old tenement houses.

At the end of August, 1911, the call came to C.A.I.L. through a society of Churchwomen, the Companions of the Holy Cross, to go to the help of the people in the mining towns of Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, where a long strike of sixteen months had just ended. In answer to this appeal, a committee was appointed, with Miss Margaret S. Lawrance as its chairman, and sent to this district (No. 5 United Mine Workers of America) to investigate and strive to ameliorate conditions there. The situation as they found it in Westmoreland County is so exactly like conditions that have continued to obtain in the bituminous fields, that the research report of the C.A.I.L. Commission is of interest not only as history, but as advice.

The greatest courtesy was shown by the union officials

in the field, and any assistance possible was given. The Commission found the usual factors: arbitrary reductions from pay-envelopes for this and for that, no remuneration for "dead-work," intermittent unemployment, indecent company houses, evictions and abrupt dismissals for participation in union activities — in short a great number of the bones of contention that are creating the present-day trouble in the soft-coal areas and bringing down the epithet of "feudalism" on the industry as a whole. The report was published in October 1911, and contained a very thorough and interesting description of the actual facts in the situation and some suggestions for preventing them in the future. The result of the report was an awakening on the part of the public, co-operation from the Pittsburgh Civic Commission, and invitations to speak in Westmoreland County at meetings in various places. Financial aid for the homeless and hungry was obtained, as well as many letters which showed that the public was being awakened to what was going on in the nation's most important basic industries.

In the summer of 1911, the question of the future of C.A.I.L. came up, and a meeting was held in Boston by the Christian Social Union, C.A.I.L., and the Joint Commission on Social Service. It had been suggested that the Commission appointed at the General Convention of 1910 to take the place of the Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor, should assume the entire work of the Church in industrial relations, i.e., that C.A.I.L. should be annexed to or merged in the Joint Commission on Social Service. The consensus of the meeting seemed to be that the Association could at that time do work that the Commission would hesitate to take up. C.A.I.L. was referred to as being on the "firing-

line," and as one member on the Commission expressed it, "We ought to give C.A.I.L. our blessing and say 'go ahead.' " C.A.I.L. went ahead, and proved its determination and strength of purpose by appointing the Rev. Charles K. Gilbert chairman of the Organized Labor Committee. The Committee first set up in 1895, had functioned under different chairmen, one of the latest of whom was the Rev. Floyd S. Leach, a man devoted to labor's cause and to proper relations between the Church and workers. He attended regularly the meetings of the Central Labor Union Council, and would have been elected to one of its offices had not the constitution of the Union prevented. With the appointment of Mr. Gilbert, who was also field secretary of the Social Service Commission in the Diocese of New York, another link was formed between C.A.I.L. and the official action of the Church.

The Rt. Rev. David Hummel Greer had been elected president to succeed Bishop Potter, and served as C.A.I.L.'s leader until his death in 1919, when Bishop Manning accepted the office. During part of this period, after the death of Mr. Sill, the Rev. Henry M. Barbour of the "Beloved Disciple," who for years had in his parish an effective chapter, served as vice-president. In 1911, Mr. Barbour refused re-election; but nominated the Rt. Rev. Charles S. Burch, who was at this time elected to the position. Bishop Burch by temperament and experience (he was once a newspaper man), was eminently fitted for consideration of public questions, especially those relating to social service in which he took much more than an academic interest.

On the suggestion of Bishop Lines, the General Convention of St. Louis, 1916, made the Joint Commission on Social Service a prominent standing committee, ap-

pointing among its members: Mrs. Mary K. Simkhovitch, Mr. John M. Glenn, Mr. Clinton R. Woodruff, and the Rev. W. Russell Bowie, D.D., who are members of the present Department of Christian Social Service in the National Council. Bishop Lloyd, vice-president of C.A.I.L. took the initiative in 1922 in promoting a Department of Industrial Relations in the Social Service Commission of the Diocese of New York. An understanding was reached whereby C.A.I.L. became the Department of the Commission, providing for the coordination of the activities of two separate organizations operating in the same field, and insuring the Commission and the Diocese the full advantage of the sympathetic contacts C.A.I.L. had established with organized labor and its long experience in dealing with industrial problems. C.A.I.L.'s work in the direction of the Church was that of transferring its work to a more official agency. It had long been the contention of the Association that the problem of the relations between Church and Industry was much too important to rest only in the hands of a society within the Church. The Church should take it up officially.

And so it was that with the creation of a permanent Department of Social Service in the National Council, organized at the General Convention in Detroit, 1919, the sun of C.A.I.L.'s magnificent labors was beginning to set. The Social Service Commissions of the different dioceses had been set up very largely through the efforts of C.A.I.L. and they were gradually taking over the work that the Association had been trying to perform alone. When the Department of Social Service came on the field, the members of C.A.I.L. were overjoyed, feeling that a most definite step towards official action had

been taken on the part of the national organization of the Church. Still C.A.I.L. continued its existence, maintaining contacts it had formed with organized labor, and doing all in its power to encourage and point out the way to the various commissions rapidly being formed. In 1925 Miss Keyser resigned. Her work had been long and absorbing and she felt it was time to retire. Miss Margaret S. Lawrence was elected in her place, which was a natural choice, since she had been a member of C.A.I.L. since the earliest days and understood the problems with which the Society dealt.

If space permitted, a gratifying story could be told of the relations between C.A.I.L. and the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and other unions, the central labor unions in many cities, and the American Federation of Labor. But space does not permit. We must bring to a close a story which any Churchman may tell with pride, a story of the untiring efforts and idealism of a group of people who felt the full force of the Christian social message, and devoted everything to the duty of realizing the Kingdom of God "on earth as it is in Heaven."

A Secretary for Industrial Relations was provided for in the Department of Christian Social Service, in 1926, and C.A.I.L. then decided that it could disband. The dissolution took place immediately, and a splendid tradition, unique in the field of Church and Industry in America, was passed on to others.

CHAPTER V

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION

AMONG the agencies organized in the late nineteenth century to meet the problems of a competitive economic system and its growing dangers to the Christian morality, the Christian Social Union stands out as internationally prominent. Founded in 1889 the English Society grew rapidly. From Oxford as the literary centre, and London as the scene of practical endeavors, the influence of the Christian Social Union spread into sixty-two cities and towns, with a total membership in 1906 of five thousand nine hundred and sixteen.

That the English Christian Social Union could achieve such a great extent of influence was probably due mostly to the fact that the Anglican Communion was predominant, and because of the large number of clergymen and Churchmen condensed in a small area. Assuming that this is a true explanation, one can easily see that the American Christian Social Union, formed about three years later, faced a more difficult task of organization. The Episcopal Church had for its field the second largest country in the Western Hemisphere, but unlike the Church of England, it shares the area with a great many denominations.

Early in 1891 the Rev. R. A. Holland, D.D., of St. Louis, returned from a visit to Oxford, where he had

become intensely interested in the work of the Christian Social Union and the need for relating the most important factor in society, the economic system, to the higher system of Christian principle expressed in social terms of the day. After discussing the possibility of an American branch of the Union with the Rt. Rev. Dr. Huntington, Bishop of Central New York, a group of interested persons were called to meet in New York City, April 3, 1891. An American branch of the Union, established on lines identical with the English Christian Social Union, was organized at that conference. Bishop Huntington, who was at that time president of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, was elected president of the Union; and Professor Richard T. Ely, of Johns Hopkins University, was chosen secretary. There was considerable interest at first, and the Society grew rapidly. Ten chapters were soon formed in various parts of the country, with members in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Cleveland, Chicago, and other cities.

C.A.I.L. was already in the field in 1891, actively cooperating with the Labor Movement, sending speakers about, and giving publicity to conditions in industry and to worthy remedial efforts. The American branch of the Christian Social Union, however, conceived its task in another light. It was felt by those who brought the group together that there was great need of scientific study and analysis of social problems, as well as activity in immediate, practical affairs, and this they set out to make. During its life the Union issued sixty-six different monographs, arranged in four distinct series,[1] covering a range

[1] The series are arranged for courses of study of different length of time and scope.

of subjects hardly exceeded by the prolific Oxford branch in England. Many of these pamphlets, which dealt with almost every phase of the social problem, from the point of view of the Church, were written by members of the society, either in America or England. Some of these authors were R. A. Woods, of South End House in Boston; Bishop Huntington; the Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, a charter member of C.A.I.L.; Dr. J. P. Peters of St. Michael's, New York, an active member of the C.A.I.L.; the lamented Rev. C. H. Brent, formerly Bishop of Western New York; and many others who were then, or have since become prominent figures in the Church and the world of social thought.

Due to the Society's emphasis on educational rather than practical activities, and to the fact that the Episcopal Church is not so prominent as in England nor the clergy and Churchmen concentrated in so small an area, the Society languished after a time, and seemed to lack vitality. Few new members were received after the first year or so of its existence, and with the exception of a few lectures and sermons under the Society's auspices, its main business was academic. In 1894 the name was changed to the "Church Social Union," to indicate its appeal not only to Christians, but also to the Church in her organic capacity as the steward of the mysteries of God. At that time the work consisted almost entirely in the publication of tracts and pamphlets and interest waned. No new members joined, and life seemed to have left the Society.

This lack of interest, no doubt, was due in part to the fact that the executive officers of the Union were scattered about in various places, and the chances for concerted action and co-operation were therefore reduced to a minimum. On November 13, 1894, the Society was

reorganized in Boston; an executive committee chosen, with a majority in or near the city, enabling them to meet and act together; and the sum of one thousand dollars was raised, or pledged, for the Union's work. The officers elected were: president, the Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington, S.T.D., Bishop of Central New York; vice-presidents, Bishops William Lawrence, D.D., of Massachusetts, and Henry C. Potter, D.D., of New York, Dr. R. A. Holland, of St. Louis, Dr. W. S. Rainsford, of New York City, Professor R. T. Ely of the University of Wisconsin, and Mr. G. E. McNeill, of Boston, one of the founders of the Federation of Labor; secretary, the Rev. George Hodges, D.D., Dean of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts; treasurer, Mr. Robert H. Gardiner, of Boston, Massachusetts; chairman of the executive committee, the Rev. John H. Suter, of Winchester, Massachusetts, chairman of the publication committee, Professor W. J. Ashley, M.A., of Harvard University.

The Church Social Union met once a year to discuss its findings, through research and discussion groups, and to plan its work for another year. Publication of pamphlets remained the Society's greatest work. These pamphlets were issued monthly in two series, and were circulated widely in the hope that they would lead to the foundation of groups for study in parishes, colleges, and divinity schools, or wherever there might be an opportunity. One series was intended primarily to consider the fundamental principles of the Union, and included such numbers as: "The Church's Duty in Relation to the Sacredness of Property," by the Rev. W. Cunningham, D.D.: "What the Church Social Union is"; and "The Social Teaching of the Early Fathers," by the Rev. C. L. Mar-

son and the Rev. W. F. Cobb. The second series was intended to consider the detailed application of Christian principles to the concrete problems of the day. Some of its numbers were: "The Railroad Strike of 1894," by Professor W. J. Ashley, M.A.; "An Eight-Hour Day" and "American Trade Unions."

During 1896 and 1897 the Union established chapters in several new places, and the work of publishing and organizing discussion groups went forward steadily. In the latter year the original name, "Christian Social Union," was again taken.

After the Society's reorganization in Boston, each annual meeting saw the addition of a new officer or a new "division of labor" among the members. In 1897 the Union had 699 members listed in the Report of the Executive Committee for 1897–98.

A new feature of the work of the Union in this last year of the nineteenth century was to carry into effect a suggestion previously made, that lectures or addresses should be delivered under the Society's auspices at such colleges or seminaries as might welcome the plan. The first institutions to receive Union speakers were the Virginia Theological Seminary, the Berkeley Divinity School, and Hobart College. Courses were given in such subjects as "Social Righteousness," "The State and the Social Problem," and the "History and Ideas of Christian Socialism." A similar line of work was undertaken by members of the Central Committee, who offered to preach upon some phase of social righteousness in any parish that would open its pulpits on Sunday evening. Teaching, writing, and publicity, therefore, were the main activities of the Union in the late nineties.

In 1902 the general headquarters of the Union were

moved from Boston to the Church House, in Philadelphia, Pa. A committee on closer relations with the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor was appointed. This committee met with Miss Harriette Keyser, secretary of C.A.I.L., in February 1903, and after conference, agreed to recommend that the Executive Committee call another general meeting, and propose to it that the two organizations unite. There seemed good reason why the two societies, whose purpose and ideals were so alike, should unite their efforts, but the difference of their methods were too great to allow a complete identification. A compromise, therefore, was brought about, whereby the Christian Social Union united with C.A.I.L. in such a way as to retain its distinctive name and methods.

The Christian Social Union had one page each month in *Hammer and Pen,* the official organ of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, in which the secretary discussed the activities of the Union during the month. The members most closely affiliated with C.A.I.L. in their social work were in the Philadelphia chapter of the Union, and their activities soon began to reveal a stress on the practical side, as differing from the traditional academic technique of the greater number of members. Thus there appeared a "division of labor" in the Union closely resembling the situation in the English Christian Social Union, where the Oxford branch carried on the intellectual work to the exclusion of all else, and the London branch put the Union's thought into effect, through the labor and other social movements. An example of the work and thought of the C.A.I.L. section of the Union may be seen in an

article which appeared in the *Hammer and Pen* for August 1903:

CHRISTIAN SOCIAL UNION SECTION

ARBITRATION FOR THE TEXTILE STRIKE

SINCE the first of June some 80,000 workers in the textile mills of Philadelphia have been on strike, mostly for reduction of working hours from sixty hours a week to fifty — and that, without claiming sixty hours' pay. Those taking this self-sacrificing position for a principle are the broadcloth weavers, 20,000 strong; the narrow cloth weavers, 20,000; 3,500 damask weavers; 3,000 fancy novelty weavers; 2,000 each of the upholstery weavers, plush weavers, blanket weavers and the tapestry and Brussels carpet weavers; 1,000 each of the terry cloth weavers, rug and curtain weavers, and hair-cloth weavers; 750 of the weft weavers and the beamers and twisters; 300 Jacquard loom fixers; 250 narrow loom twisters; and 200 broad loom fixers. All these are asking for fifty-five hours' work with fifty-five hours' pay. Those who are asking for fifty-five hours' work with sixty hours' pay, are the entire ingrain carpet trade, including winders and spoolers, weavers, warpers, and loom fixers, woolen and carpet yarn spinners, and dyers. Recently the secretary of the Christian Social Union section of the C.A.I.L. tendered to the strikers and the manufacturers the good offices of the Philadelphia or Christian Social Union chapter of C.A.I.L. for the purpose of mediation and arbitration.

The article continues to relate that the proposition was accepted by the Central Textile Workers' Union with the proviso of equal representation with the manufacturers. The offer of C.A.I.L. to the manufacturers was declined on the grounds that the clergy were incapable of solving business questions, that the Civic Federation would serve if conciliation was needed, and that they had southern competition to meet.

THE publication of monographs on various phases of

the social problem from the point of view of the Church were continued, and the union with the C.A.I.L. resulted in a revival of interest and a broadening out into practical activities, as well. Monthly sermons were preached in churches occupying strategic positions, college and seminary lectures continued and new discussion groups organized. Members of the Union, either by appointment or as individuals, participated in conferences of the Sweat Shop Committee, in child labor meetings, Consumers' League activities, labor union meetings, and like affairs.

Informal discussions were held, often at the home of Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, a layman of Philadelphia and a member of the Union's Executive Committee. Representatives of organized labor were frequently present at these meetings, as at the discussion of December 3, 1904, when members of the Bricklayers' Union, the Stone Mason's Union, and the Textile Workers' Union took part in a review of conditions in local industry.

The death of Bishop Huntington in July 1904, left both the Christian Social Union and C.A.I.L. without a president. Bishop Potter of the diocese of New York was elected president of C.A.I.L. and the Rev. John P. Tyler, then chairman of the Executive Committee, succeeded to the presidency of the Christian Social Union. Mr. Tyler's term of office began with an interesting occurrence within the first month. He and Mr. Arkin went on a tour of investigation in Philadelphia's garment shops, on the invitation of the United Garment Workers' Union, and published a statement of the conditions they found. Their report was met by a denial from a Factory Inspector, published in a newspaper, in spite of the fact that the statements of the C.S.U. officers were corroborated by six newspaper reporters, who had accompanied them,

uninvited, on the tour. However, it was soon discovered that the "Factory Inspector" was the custodian of the Philadelphia office of the Harrisburg Department of Factory Inspection, and evidently a politician "with a bone to pick." The chief clerk of the genuine Factory Inspector subsequently came to Harrisburg with a letter from his chief, addressed to Mr. Tyler and Mr. Arkin, asking for definite information which they may have gathered on their visit, and thanking them for any courtesy they might show the bearer.

During the years 1905–06, several public conferences were held by the C.S.U. in the Church House in Philadelphia. Representatives of capital, labor, and the Church attended these meetings, which were devoted to various topics, such as open and closed shop, the right to organize and co-operate. These conferences were usually well attended and received notices in the newspapers and magazines. The Philadelphia *Public Ledger* headed one account of one meeting "Capital and Labor in a Christian Forum," which adequately expressed the three-fold character and purpose of the Union's efforts.

With the removal of headquarters to Philadelphia and the working alliance with C.A.I.L. the Christian Social Union experienced a revival of interest and a new intensity. It may be noticed, however, that this quickening of life made itself apparent in a narrower group, namely the Atlantic states. Other members, more or less isolated in their own part of the country and carrying on the intellectual study-work of the society, became more and more subordinated in attention and influence to the Philadelphia group. It seemed to many members of the Union during 1904–06 that the action policy of C.A.I.L. was going to swallow up the original purpose of the

Union, to provide research and apologetics as a necessary supplement of the Church's social action.

A series of conferences were held in 1905 at which the question of open and closed shop was discussed by business men, labor leaders, and clergy. The Rt. Rev. Alexander Mackay-Smith, the Bishop-Coadjutor of Pennsylvania, presided over the first of these conferences. C.S.U. members contributed articles to the *Trade Union News,* visited the Central Union of Textile Workers of Philadelphia, and continued to send accredited fraternal delegates to the Central Labor Union body.

Conferences continued, with outstanding persons speaking, such as Alfred D. Calvert, president of Typographical Union No. 2; Edward Thornton of the Textile Workers' Union; Dr. Felix Adler, chairman of the National Child Labor Committee; Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsey, of the University of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Florence Kelley, secretary of the National Consumers' League; and Bishop Mackay-Smith. The growing rift in the ranks of the Union, over affiliation with C.A.I.L.'s direct action policy, appears in Secretary Arkin's report to the C.A.I.L. Convention of May 1900, in these words: "We have lost some members who live in other places but this loss is well made up by the addition of new members within our diocese." It seemed very much as though the C.S.U. was to become a Philadelphia chapter of C.A.I.L. and Union members in other places began to make louder objections.

This feeling in the minds of the Union members, especially those of long standing, that the direct action of the C.A.I.L. section was too inhibitive of the Union's primary function as an educational group, was not without justification. Open-minded and fair as C.A.I.L. was in

its approach to industrial problems it nevertheless committed itself to the ". . . interests of Labor," and thereby limited the field of intellectual consideration of the Church's relation to industry. And members of the Union felt themselves unable to accept the limitation.

The difficulty was resolved at a meeting of the C.S.U. in February 1907. It was decided that though the friendliest relations should be maintained with C.A.I.L., the Union must, nevertheless, give up its official connexion in order to remain consistent with its charter principles. This move of separation may be best presented in part from the Union's own words, contained in its publication of April 1908:[2]

The Church must meet ALL the problems of human society; and meet them not "in the interests of labor" alone or chiefly, but in the interests of the Kingdom of God. Doubtless, the true interests of these two, rightly understood, are never contradictory: yet "labor" and "the Kingdom" are not interchangeable terms. The Christian Social Union stands for the fact that the Kingdom is the larger, the more important, the deeper thing and that it should be "sought first." In proportion as this Kingdom comes to earth, will the labor problem, and all other problems of social righteousness, welfare and peace, be solved. Holding this faith the officers and members of the Christian Social Union felt that they must no longer continue as a section of a society whose aims, however admirable, are less comprehensive and less enduring.

In the same year the General Convention made its Joint Commission on the Relations between Capital and Labor a permanent commission, and the Union began to look to this agency as a means of carrying out its advice and suggestions. There began a period of quiet but fruitful activity, in which the Union tried to help as a co-ordinating centre, a clearing house for ideas and

[2] A short history of the Christian Social Union in this country and England.

workers. A number of pamphlets dealing with various aspects of the industrial problems were issued, pulpit speakers made the rounds on Sundays, and lecture courses were given in the seminaries. At the annual meeting in Trenton, N. J., on April 13, 1910, the largest single expenditure reported was an item for the publication of 10,000 pamphlets.

In the fall of 1910 the General Convention converted the Commission on the Relations between Capital and Labor into a permanent Commission on Social Service. The Union hailed this as a great step forward, and much in the spirit of C.A.I.L. at a later date, declared that the Church had at last taken over officially the work for which the Union had been striving since its organization in 1891. This was felt to be true particularly because the Union's major effort of late had been to relate and combine the work of the diocesan social service commissions, which could be done so much more effectively through an official central agency.

On the appointment of a full-time secretary for the Commission, 1911, the Union took immediate action. The executive Committee met in December, and after careful deliberation drew up the following proposal, which was promptly submitted to the members:

Philadelphia, December 16, 1911

To the Members of the Christian Social Union:

Your Executive Committee herewith submits to the members of the Union a proposal of a vital character which was approved at the December meeting of the Committee, and must now be voted on by all. After the organization of the Joint Commission on Social Service appointed by the last General Convention, the Executive Committee put itself into communication with that Commission, to ascertain in what way the cause which we have in

common could be served most efficiently. The result was a proposal from them that the Christian Social Union merge itself with their wider work, handing over to them the activities which we have been trying to maintain, and which they are ready to carry on more largely and with more authority than we can hope to do.

The matter was referred to the members and they voted to disband.

The Union gave over its "legacy" to the Social Service Commission. Thus the Christian Social Union, anticipating C.A.I.L., handed over to the official Church a real work and tradition. Like C.A.I.L., it had broken the ground and prepared the way, though more in the sphere of intellect and theory than in the work of establishing a practical programme.

CHAPTER VI

THE SOCIETY OF THE COMPANIONS OF THE HOLY CROSS AND THE CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE

THOSE who would seek out the part played in the past by the Church, in problems of industry and social justice, will be sure at one point or another to run across the trail of the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross. While the Society's chief aims have been spiritual companionship and mutual intercession, its members (all Churchwomen) have always laid stress on prayer and thought of bringing the Kingdom of God on earth,[1] with the practical results inevitably following on sincere devotion to the question.

Begun in 1884 by a small group of earnest Churchwomen in Boston the Society grew so in numbers and scope that today there are nearly five hundred Companions in the United States, Canada, England, the Philippines, China, India, Algeria, Egypt, and Japan. Chapters were organized in Boston, Hartford, Philadelphia, New York, Providence, Utica, and the Far East. Chapters existed for a while in San Francisco and Chicago, but have now disbanded. It would be of interest to sketch in some detail the history and experiences of this religious society, but since our present problem is industry and labor

[1] "Aims of the Society," No. 2.

we must confine our history to those points at which the Society crossed the path of workers and the economic life.

Dr. Floyd Tomkins, active pioneer and member in C.A.I.L. and the Christian Social Union, was chaplain of the first chapter of the Society in Hartford. Miss Vida D. Scudder, one of the founders of the College Settlement in New York, first president of the College Settlement Association and for long an advocate of radical economic reform, has been an active member of the Society from its inception. From the beginning the Companions gave themselves to the service of "righteousness in more secular movements," particularly Working Girls' Societies and the College Settlement movement. Companions were workers in these fields in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Hartford; Companions have been head workers and assistants at such places as the Rivington Street Settlement and Greenwich House, New York, Denison House, Boston, and Hull House, Chicago.

A vacation house for working girls of all nationalities was opened by the Society in Saybrook, Connecticut, and was followed later by a larger house at Blanford, Massachusetts. In these houses the Companions have usually been the house mothers and workers. Discussions of industrial conditions often took place in these houses, led by clergymen like Bishop Brent and Dr. Tomkins.

In 1901 the Society acquired their first home, Adelynrood, at Byfield, Massachusetts. At this time they adopted two special objects of prayer, the Reunion of Christendom and Social Justice, which they set forth regularly in an *Intercession Paper* that still appears and contains much of devotional and inspirational value, as re-

lated to current events in the labor movement and the world struggle for social justice. Father Huntington, O.H.C., was often called to lead the Byfield conferences because of his leadership in C.A.I.L., and the work of reconciliation in strikes and other industrial difficulties. The head of the Society, Miss Emily M. Morgan, was most active in industrial relations, especially situations involving women workers, and did much to further workers' education by fostering clubs for study of labor legislation, political forums, and socialist meetings.

At the end of August 1911, the call came to C.A.I.L. from the Society to investigate conditions in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, where a bitter strike of eighteen months had left many in sore distress. Three Companions, also members of C.A.I.L. (Margaret S. Lawrance, Lucy C. Watson, and Margaret H. Shearman) made the investigation and issued a report, assisted by Mrs. Raymond Robins, president of the Women's Trade Union League. Valuable contacts were made with miners' union officials, local authorities in the coal fields, and thus with leading men and women in the union movement at large. Although efforts to create some control in such situations failed of lasting or permanent effect (due to forces greater than they possibly could control) the Society was able to make itself known and respected by many who would have been ignorant of sympathy in the Church.

The Society was not behind in recognizing that the whole Church must take cognizance of the industrial problem. With the Christian Social Union and C.A.I.L. it memorialized the General Convention of 1907, pleading for a Social Service Commission.[2] For many years Social

[2] See Chapter on "Developments in the General Convention."

Justice Conferences have been held at Byfield, when papers are read and discussion takes place. Reports are usually issued afterward, the first of such reports having been issued in 1909 to describe the relation of Christianity to Social Justice as it is worked out in the various denominations and religious organizations.

With social justice as one of its two greatest aims, and with a membership of socially minded Companions, the Society has done much to awaken the Church to its responsibilities in the vast field of industrial and labor relations. Many of its members have been prominent in radical and liberal affairs and brought great credit to their group, and through its prayers and thanksgivings, and its summer conferences on Social Justice, the Society continues to help in the building up of a consciousness of the social demands on the Church and its stewardship of the faith and the Gospel of Christ.[3]

THE CHURCH SOCIALIST LEAGUE

In much the same way that the American branch of the Christian Social Union was the result of interest in the English organization of that name, the Church Socialist League was created in America after certain American clergymen had come into contact with the work of the English League, most of the members of which were Fabian Socialists. A meeting of interested Churchmen was called in Chicago in 1911 by the Rev. B. I. Bell,[4] of Grace Church in that city. Among those who came to this first meeting were the late Rt. Rev. F. Spencer Spauld-

[3] Since it is the policy of the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross to work quietly and without any more publicity than is necessarily involved in customary life and work, we have sought not to impose on this policy beyond what is required in bringing out those points which contribute to this report.

[4] Now warden of St. Stephen's College.

ing, Bishop of Utah, the Rev. G. Israel Browne, the Rev. W. M. Gamble, the Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss, the Rev. Lyford P. Edwards, and Eugene M. Parker, a layman of Valparaiso, Indiana.

During the first few years there was little in the nature of organization about the League. Dr. Bell acted as honorary chairman, the Rev. Mr. Gamble as secretary, and Mr. Parker as business agent. In 1912 they began publication of their quarterly magazine, *The Social Preparation for the Kingdom of God,* with the Rev. M. Gamble as editor and Mr. Parker as business manager. Little or nothing was done to solicit membership in the League, except invitations which appeared from time to time in the *Social Preparation.* Funds were lacking and the League members were able to give only such time as they had left from their parochial duties.

However, the organization was made more complete at the 1916 General Convention in St. Louis. By this time the League had enrolled more members, though the total was less than a hundred. The Rt. Rev. Paul Jones, successor to Bishop Spaulding in Utah,[5] was elected president. The vice-presidents were the Rt. Rev. Benjamin Brewster, Bishop of Maine, the Rev. G. Israel Browne, Mr. E. M. Parker, Mr. William F. Cochran and Miss Vida D. Scudder. The executive secretary, the Rev. A. L. Byron-Curtiss, was appointed editor of the *Social Preparation.*

The World War had been in progress for over two years and the League saw in it its greatest challenge and the greatest danger to America. Believing that the pri-

[5] The death in 1914 of Bishop Spaulding, an avowed and energetic socialist, was a great loss to the Church. His voice was one of the most fearless and searching, continually raised in protest against economic injustices.

mary or fundamental causes were economic, the League sent out preachers and issued open letters and magazine articles to warn the Church that the conflict would soon submerge her programme of Christian work. At the St. Louis Convention the Rev. Mr. Browne presented a memorial "touching the basic principle of the present economic system," which was not acted upon after it reached the Committee on Social Service in the House of Deputies.

On the United States entering the War in 1917 the League and its periodical found it increasingly difficult to function. While the official policy of the League was opposition to the War many of the members decided they were in favor of participation and therefore cohesive action was practically impossible. A disintegration resulted from which the League never recovered. The League's last outstanding act was a defence of its president, Bishop Jones, during the 1918 agitation against him for his pacifist position in regard to the World War. A special issue of the *Social Preparation,* together with a document of protest containing signatures of Churchmen in every state, were presented by the late Bishop Greer to the special session of the House of Bishops in protest against Bishop Jones' resignation under pressure of war-hysteria. At the General Convention of Detroit in 1919 the League held open-air forums for the discussion of economic problems and, through Bishop Brewster of Maine as its voice, joined with the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross in asking the Convention to urge the government to exercise clemency in the cases of "political prisoners" in jail because of their expressed war-time opinions. The memorial was adopted in a resolution.

The post-war excitement about anything so radical as definitely avowed Socialism made the career of the League a practical futility. After the issuance of a special number of the *Social Preparation* in 1919 (for the Convention), containing articles by George Bernard Shaw, Scott Nearing, Norman Thomas, Father Hughson, O.H.C., and others, the League gradually ceased to function. The time and the hour were inhospitable, the *Social Preparation* ceased appearing and in 1924 the League disbanded.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

THE ECONOMIC demands of the World War brought forth important innovations. Increased output by mass-production and amazing mechanical devices resulted almost immediately in startling social consequences.[1] It was the birth of the Machine Age at a time when men had not yet fully appreciated the significance of the industrial revolution a century past, and when they were still dazed and unsettled by a war which had no likeness in history. With industrial and economic change on the one hand, men saw on the other a world-wide social and political upheaval, which seemed to be a mirror of the underlying economic storm. In the minds of many it was a world revolution; for many Christians it was a challenge to the Church, unprecedented in its danger and importance.

In answer to an open invitation made through the Church press a number of priests and lay people met on May 2–3, 1919, in the board room of the Church Missions House in New York City, to consider how they might help meet and contend with the new developments in an "unchristian industrial and economic system." A two-day conference resulted in a temporary organization

[1] American industry was affected by the conflict in Europe long before the United States became a combatant.

with the tentative title of "The Church League for Social and Industrial Democracy."

Among those who attended this first council in the Church Missions House were Miss Vida Scudder, the Rev. B. I. Bell, the Rev. C. N. Lathrop, the Rev. J. H. Melish, the Rev. W. P. Ladd, the Rev. W. B. Spofford, the Rev. Horace Fort, the Rev. R. W. Hogue, Mrs. Mary K. Simkhovitch and Mr. William F. Cochran. After serious discussion it was decided that the events in the post-war situation called for an organization of men and women courageously to take up the standard of the Church and carry it forward in the march to a new and more Christian society which "substitutes fraternal co-operation for mastery in industry and life." In view of the fact that some members of the Church had been made to suffer by the Department of Justice and other authorities for expressing their social views, it was decided that "in case of teachers and preachers in our own communion whose positions were endangered by reason of their social radicalism we promise to make investigation and if necessary to publish the facts; and to the limit of our ability we intend to give moral and practical support to those who shall clearly be seen to have incurred persecution through advocacy of social change."

The value and importance of the educational approach was fully recognized, and provision was made that the League should work for changes in the management and curricula of theological seminaries, so that students would be enabled "to know, preach and practice the Social Gospel." Courses were recommended in contemporary industrial trends, economic theory and reform, labor problems in the light of Christian ethics, and the history of social theory in the Christian tradition. To better accom-

plish this, the League was to recruit such candidates for the ministry as would enter it with a desire for leadership motivated by a social conscience.

This first meeting, held principally for a union of kindred spirits and to survey the situation, closed its two-day deliberations with a decision to reconvene at the General Convention in Detroit, the following October. Miss Vida D. Scudder of Wellesley College was made acting chairman of the executive committee, Bishop Charles D. Williams of Michigan was chosen acting president, and the Rev. Richard W. Hogue, director of the Baltimore Open Forum and director of the Personal Service Department of the Maryland Prisoners' Aid Association, was chosen temporary executive secretary. A manifesto was published shortly afterward, declaring that the world was in a state of revolution and regardless of pleasure or regret the Church was called upon to act. It was given as the purpose of the League to unite Episcopalians who believe it the Church's function to work for justice as a motive in social change, in promoting "sound movements toward the democratization of industry and the socialization of life."

During the months which intervened between the New York meeting and the proposed meeting at the General Convention the League was active in enlisting members and interest, and in sounding out the opinions and advice of all who could be reached. Group conferences were held in Baltimore and Philadelphia, where the title and statement decided upon by the first meeting were approved. By August 25, when the League announced in the press its intention of appearing at the Convention, there were eighty-five members enrolled. Seven bishops joined, ranging in their jurisdiction from Maine to Michi-

gan and to China. There were seminary students, deans of colleges and seminaries, city rectors, and rural clergymen. However, the number and scope of the membership did not increase commensurately with interest in the League. This may be put down in part to the fact that not all the "interest" was kindly disposed.

In spite of a certain amount of skepticism and opposition, the League was successful in appealing to the imagination of liberals in not only the Episcopal Church but the American Christian world at large. Letters of encouragement were received from officials in the Federal Council of Churches, bishops, professors, laymen, and discouraged clergymen who had run afoul of the forces of reaction.

The League meetings in Detroit, during the week of October 11, 1919, were attended by workingmen as well as delegates to the Convention. Arcadia Hall was rented so that conferences and groups could meet at will, and League sessions were held at noon in addition to the mass meetings in the evenings. Five thousand copies of "Purposes and Principles" were distributed, new members enrolled and information about the League disseminated in every direction. At the meetings held in Arcadia Hall the delegates to the Convention heard speeches from labor leaders, radical party leaders, Jewish rabbis, college presidents, and bishops. It was the first real meeting of the League, as an actual Church society. The acting officers, appointed at the New York meeting, were elected to permanent position, and soon after the secretary set up the League's executive offices in Baltimore under the revised title of "The Church League for Industrial Democracy."

By June 1920, the League had three hundred and

twenty-seven enrolled members, with active chapters in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. The policy of giving support to those who were being attacked for radical social opinions was put to the test almost immediately, in the cases of clergymen who had come up against conservative forces in North Carolina, Ohio, and Pennsylvania. Under the stimulus of the League's example, attempts were made to organize similar leagues in other communions, with the hope of developing the work into an inter-church federated movement. This project, however, seems to have failed quietly and without any definite results.

The offices of the League were moved to Philadelphia in the fall of 1920. By that time the membership had increased in scope, with three bishops as vice-presidents and three bishops representing the League in China. Conferences were held in several southern colleges, in universities, and parish groups; the labor press woke to the League's existence and carried article and editorial comments from time to time. By the summer of 1921 there was an enrollment of four hundred and sixty, representative of all aspects of the Church and secular life. Two-thirds of the faculties of the Cambridge seminary and Berkeley Divinity School were members.

During this period the League had temporary headquarters in Hull House, a settlement directed by Miss Jane Addams, in Chicago. As a result of centering the League's activities in the Middle West for nine months, thirty new members were added and one hundred and five associate members. This membership activity was due largely to the interest and co-operation of two Chicago members, the Rev. W. B. Spofford and the Rev. C. L. Street.

University of Southern California Library

The C.L.I.D. went to the General Convention of 1922, in Portland, Oregon, with a message of the Church's social responsibility and opportunity, backed by three years of active service. Having heard of the League's educational work and its practical endeavors in such situations as the soft-coal miners' strike of 1922, the Bishops of Manchester, Litchfield, Carlisle, St. Albans, Winton, Peterborough and Truro of the English Church, sent a letter to the secretary expressing their "appreciation of the work that is being done by the C.L.I.D. in the United States of America."

Much after the manner of its programme at the preceding General Convention in Detroit, the League held mass-meetings nearly every day during their stay in Portland. Mr. Hogue invited several representatives of organized labor and several prominent employers to speak at C.L.I.D. meetings.

The Convention programme marked the close of Mr. Hogue's services in the League. In the following month he accepted an invitation to become Director of Workers' Education for the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, and the League, already prepared for his resignation, took immediate steps to find another secretary. The officers of the League met in New York City on November 24, 1922, in answer to a call from the executive committee. Bishop Williams was re-elected president and the Rev. F. B. Barnett, treasurer of the League, was appointed temporary executive secretary to fill the vacancy made by the Rev. Mr. Hogue's resignation, until such time as the position could be filled permanently. The administrative and executive committees included, among others, the Rev. W. P. Ladd, Miss Anna Rochester, Mrs. M. K. Simkhovitch, Miss Vida Scudder, the Rev. Smith Q. Dex-

ter and the Rev. J. H. Melish. A new office in the League was created by the election of the Rev. W. B. Spofford as field secretary for the Middle West. Shortly after, the services of the Rev. Albert Farr were secured for the work in New England, but a field worker for the South was never appointed. A compact organization was soon to be necessary in the interim between secretaries.

Throughout this period of the League's career, when a general secretary had not yet been found, the central office was at Wrightstown, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where the Rev. Mr. Barnett, acting secretary, was living in a small "community" of Churchmen, devoted to living in Christian fellowship and economic co-operation.

During the year 1923 the western secretary was active in carrying out the League programme, in the light of his experience as assistant labor manager in the Kuppenheimer factory agreement with the Amalgamated Clothing Worker's Union. In addition to giving lectures and meeting discussion groups in mid-western cities, Mr. Spofford organized a periodic conference in Chicago between fifteen outstanding labor leaders and fifteen clergymen for the purpose of getting acquainted and possibly finding some means of co-operation. At the suggestion of Bishop Anderson, he took over a church in one of the city's industrial centers, as a clinic or experimental parish for the League's programme for industrial democracy. The experiment was dropped in a month or two, when it was found that the League could not exercise the power of final decision in several issues that arose.

In the East Mr. Farr was preaching and lecturing on Sundays, attending religious and secular conferences to describe the work of the League, planning and securing

speakers for church summer conferences. Both secretaries made a standing offer to give a Social Mission in places where they were invited.

Early in 1924 there was a reorganization of the League's official machinery, and the headquarters office was moved to Chicago. Mr. Spofford was elected executive secretary, Mr. Farr continued in his part-time capacity as eastern representative, and the Rev. Horace Fort of Berkeley Divinity School was appointed assistant treasurer. The office of treasurer, held by Mr. George Foster Peabody, a New York banker much interested in civic and industrial questions, was in the main advisory, the detailed responsibility devolving on the assistant.

The Clipsheet, quarterly publication of the League, kept the members in close touch with the work and results obtained by the officers and supplied a current analysis of affairs and trends in the world of industry. Many Church conferences on social problems had speakers from the League to present the challenge of labor conditions to Christian faith, and League representatives were not infrequently invited to address secular groups in civic, labor, and employer circles. During the year the League's principles and objects were set forth at many types of meetings, by such able persons as Miss Vida Scudder, Miss Mary van Kleeck, Dr. Bernard I. Bell, Bishop Paul Jones and the Rev. Samuel Booth, the Rev. Nevin Sayre, Mr. Spofford, and others. Employer conferences were held in Boston and New Haven, student conferences in the seminaries, the University of Illinois, and Wesleyan University, League chapter meetings were held regularly in various cities, and League speakers led discussion groups at the summer Church conferences in Wellesley, Faribault, Concord, Gambier, and the Church

Congress held in Boston. At a meeting in Chicago over which Bishop Anderson presided, Mr. Victor Olander of the Illinois Federation of Labor and Miss Agnes Nestor of the Women's Trade Union League spoke as delegates of organized labor. The Rev. Norman Nash, professor of the Episcopal Theological School, represented the League in England during the summer months, cementing a close tie of mutual interest and co-operation between the League and the English Industrial Christian Fellowship.

The prolonged and bitterly contested strike of the silk-mill workers of Paterson, New Jersey, in the fall of 1924, offered the League a direct and immediate challenge to its principles and concern for industrial peace. Certain features of the situation, notably chronic insecurity of employment, disorganization in production methods, the workers' lack of bargaining power and infringements of civil liberties, all combined with ill feeling and occasional violence, served to make the strike one of momentous importance to general industrial interests. Members of the League were naturally interested and anxious to discover the kind of shop management and relations within the shops of Paterson which created chronic unrest, breaking out periodically in strikes, and wished if possible to contribute what they could toward bettering the conditions of the silk workers. At a meeting in New York on October 9, 1924, it was voted to send the executive secretary to Paterson, to make a survey and report[2] to the League members on pertinent facts. After a careful investigation, in which he interviewed a large number of employers, labor leaders, workers, civil liberties defenders, journalists and others

[2] Appeared in *Clipsheet*, November 1924; February 1925.

involved in the strike, Mr. Spofford was also able, with the approval of the League's members to co-operate with Paterson clergymen in bringing together representatives of the workers and shop-owners to discuss a settlement. The example of such a meeting engineered by Christian ministers received widespread favorable comment in the press, and the approval of labor leaders and employers in many places. It was a new step in the field of Church and industrial relations.

In order to keep in touch with the activities and plans of organized labor the League sent its secretary to the 1924 Convention of the American Federation of Labor in El Paso, Texas, and the Mexican Labor Federation (C.R.O.M.) at Juarez, Mexico. At El Paso the League co-operated with the Federal Council of Churches and the social service committees of the various denominations in arranging for over twenty labor leaders to preach from the pulpits of the city on Sunday, an experiment which proved so successful from the point of view of both Churchmen and laborites that it has been repeated at succeeding conventions of the Federation.

The secretary of the League conducted discussions at the National Social Service Conference held in Manitou, Colorado, in June 1925, under the auspices of the Department of Christian Social Service in the National Council. Joint conferences were held with the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order in Chicago, Columbus, Boston, and New York. Through the press and various Christian publications the League was able to keep its efforts and its ideals constantly before the attention of Church people, so that in November 1925 the roster totalled seven hundred and ninety-seven interested members and a mailing list of twice as

many who asked to be kept in touch with the League's activities.

At the 1925 General Convention in New Orleans the League held open forums and mass-meetings every day in the Temple Sinai, and street meetings each evening. A permit was also secured from the New Orleans police to hold public meetings in Lafayette Park, in the centre of the city. A memorial was submitted by opponents of the League to the House of Bishops calling upon them to condemn the C.L.I.D., the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Civil Liberties Union, but it got short shrift on the Convention floor. When Mr. Spofford was later called before the Committee on Social Service to state to them the position of the C.L.I.D. in regard to industrial matters, he was introduced by a bishop as the "secretary of the one organization in the Church that takes seriously the resolutions passed by General Convention in industrial matters."

The League speakers had been making it their practice to appear before student groups as often as possible, to acquaint them with industrial facts and discuss their meaning for the Church, but in order to supplement this work with practical experience that would serve to challenge student thought it was decided that a "Students in Industry" project should be held in the summer of 1926. The executive secretary made arrangements with employers in several Massachusetts factories to give seminary students work for the vacation months, and in June three men from Berkeley Divinity School, one from Episcopal Theological School and one from General Theological Seminary took up their jobs. The mills employing them were the General Electric in Lynn, the Plymouth Cordage Company in Plymouth, the Beacon Manufactur-

ing Company[3] in New Bedford, the Dennison Tag Manufacturing Company in Framingham, and the Filene Department Store in Boston. The men worked at their jobs during the week, observing conditions and learning all they could of industrial life as members of a worker group, and then met on the week-ends in Boston to discuss together their experiences and what they meant to the Church faith and programme. Employers and labor leaders joined them to explain various points of view and to act as discussion leaders, and outstanding clergymen came each week-end to act as chaplain for the group. After the group had finished their "term" of factory life they returned to their seminaries wiser and better for the experience and knowledge gained. Several wrote articles for the Church papers describing their summer's sojourn in industry. One of the group has gone to further study of the problem and now holds a position in the Church as an industrial secretary. The project, though carried out on a small scale, proved a success and convinced the League that it was a worth-while activity for its future summer programme.

As the result of the historic strike involving some 16,000 textile workers in Passaic, New Jersey,[4] there was a widespread interest among industrial relations agencies in the work of reconstruction. The League was no exception to the general interest. The executive secretary was sent to Passaic in February 1927, to make a survey of conditions and report back to the League, as he had done in the Paterson strike two years before. After three months in which Mr. Spofford worked in the closest cooperation with the leaders of both the workers and the

[3] Woollen blankets.
[4] See *Christian Century*, August 5, 1926.

management groups, he finally made his report and asked the League's financial support for a week's intensive organizing campaign, which he declared was the one thing that had been proposed by the local labor group which was needed more than anything else to bring some order out of Passaic's chaos. The plans for this campaign, to be known as "Labor Week," were worked out in conference by representatives of the United Textile Workers' Union, the Workers Education Bureau, and the C.L.I.D. A meeting of the administrative committee of the League, on June 2nd, voted that five hundred dollars be contributed to the campaign's expenses, and "Labor Week" began on Sunday, June 10th with a mass meeting at a united-church service, organized by the local ministerial association. Mr. James Starr, vice-president of the United Textile Workers' Union, preached the sermon. The Roman Catholic Bishop of the diocese had expressed his approval of the Labor Week, and the local Roman Catholic priest preached in praise of the union and its worthy efforts to restore peace to Passaic. In such a manner was the C.L.I.D. able once again to make a genuine contribution to industrial troubles and confusion.

Lecture courses in League subjects at the Church summer schools, and co-operation with the Y. M. C. A. in maintaining a group of students in industry at Detroit, took much of the secretary's time during the summer of 1927. In the fall of the year the headquarters were temporarily moved to New York City.

In the spring of 1928 the League could boast of 856 regular members, and 644 associate members.[5] This

[5] Interested people from other communions who wish to take part in the League.

number includes in foreign lands both missionaries and lay people, in China, England, the Philippines and Mexico. In the domestic Church there are members in almost every diocese, the largest number being along the Atlantic seaboard and in the Middle West lakes region.

The C.L.I.D. stands almost alone today as an organization in the Church which is facing the economic problem armed with the commands and the promises of Christ. It continues to remind the Church that the General Convention of Portland resolved that: "Fellowship in industry is the only foundation for economic prosperity and well-being," and that such fellowship is only honestly insured by the "right of labor, equally with capital, to effective organization and . . . negotiation through collective bargaining."

CHAPTER VIII

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN GENERAL CONVENTION

A CAREFUL examination of the records and journals reveals that there was little concern over social problems in the General Convention of the late nineteenth century. They received occasional attention in an indirect way, through consideration of the resolutions of the Lambeth Conferences in England, or in such matters as an expression of sympathy with the Tzar's invitation to the Christian powers to a conference on disarmament. When the Lambeth Conference in 1897 commended the report of its committee on the duty of the Church in regard to industrial problems, its resolutions and recommendations were dropped from formal action in our Convention, the industrial problems clause with them, on the ground that the General Convention (1898) was an organized body, and Lambeth merely a voluntary meeting of the Bishops of the Church of England. Thus the only specific reference in that period to the question of industrial relations was lost, at the last General Convention of the nineteenth century.

At the General Convention of 1901, in San Francisco, however, the industrial problem made its appearance and has ever since taken its share in the Convention's proceedings. A mass-meeting was held at the Convention

under the auspices of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, to bring the question of industrial relations before the notice of the whole Church. Several representatives of the Association were given the opportunity to address the Convention on behalf of the organization and its principles.[1] On the day following the formal opening of the Convention, the Rev. Dr. Randolph McKim of Washington presented the following preambles and resolutions, which were placed on the calendar:

Whereas The Church of Jesus Christ has been commissioned by her Lord to be the friend and counsellor of all sorts and conditions of men, rich and poor alike, without respect of persons; and
Whereas It is a part of her divine mission to be a mediator and peacemaker between those who are at strife, one with another; and
Whereas The relations between Capital and Labor, which ought to be harmonious, are from time to time very seriously disturbed, to the prejudice of peace and good will among the people of the land, and often to the suffering of thousands of women and children, as well as to the sowing of bitterness and strife between brethren; and
Whereas The Christian Church would be untrue to her Master — the Carpenter of Nazareth — if she were not the friend of the laboring man, and did not hold his welfare as dear to her heart as that of his employer;
Therefore, Resolved The House of Bishops concurring, That a Joint Commission of both Houses, to consist of three bishops, three presbyters, and three laymen, be appointed (the bishops in such manner as the House of Bishops shall determine, and the other members by the President of this House) as a Standing Commission upon the relations of Capital and Labor, and employers and work-people, whose duty it shall be, FIRST, to study carefully the aims and purposes of the Labor Organizations of our country; SECOND, in particular to investigate the causes of industrial disturbances as these may arise; and THIRD, to hold themselves in readiness to act as arbitrators, should their services be desired, between the men and their employers, with a view to bring about

[1] See the chapter on C.A.I.L.

mutual conciliation and harmony in the spirit of the Prince of Peace.

Resolved That the said Commission shall make report of its proceedings to the General Convention.

Resolved That it is desirable that the above-named Commission should be continued by reappointment every three years.

Dr. Kim's resolutions were adopted by both the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies, and the Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor duly appointed. The members of the Commission were, Bishop Potter of New York, Bishop Lawrence of Massachusetts, Bishop Anderson of Chicago, Dr. McKim, Dean Hodges of Cambridge, the Rev. Dr. Charles D. Williams of Ohio, Mr. Seth Low of New York, Mr. Samuel Mather of Ohio, and Mr. Jacob Riis of New York.

Quite naturally the members of C.A.I.L. and all others interested in the Church and Industrial Relations, looked forward to the Joint Commission's report at the Boston Convention of 1904. Dr. McKim having been elected president of the House of Deputies, the report was submitted by Bishop Potter. So far as *arbitration* was concerned, there had been no requests for the Commission's services. Regarding investigation the members of the Commission were agreed "in the conviction that the causes of the violence of the past three years in Pennsylvania, in Colorado, and in Illinois are not so much economical as moral," and due to an unfounded distrust and hostility which the Church might overcome by affording opportunity for conferences. With reference to their study into the aims and spirit of labor organizations the Commission reported that they clearly perceived much ignorance among the clergy and laity alike as to the principle involved in industrial conflicts, and suggested a list of ten books which they considered to afford an introduction to

the study of these matters. It was the opinion of the Commission, "in the face of a prejudice and an hostility for which there are serious reasons," that "the organization of labor is essential to the well-being of the working people." It was pointed out that "the offences of the Union are as distinct from the cause for which the organization of labor stands, as the Inquisition is distinct from the Gospel." The report ended with a resolution that the Commission be continued, which was adopted by the Convention. Mr. George Pinckard took the place of Mr. Seth Low, as a lay member, and in his turn was succeeded before the next Convention by Mr. Henry Lewis Morris of New York City.

Bishop Potter, as chairman of the Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor, again reported its findings to the General Convention of 1907, in Richmond, Va. The Rev. E. L. Parsons of California, who had in the meantime succeeded Dr. Charles D. Williams, reported for the Commission to the House of Deputies.

Several points brought out in the report at the Richmond Convention are worthy of attention, as representing more mature reflection on their problem and the question involved. Once more the Commission laid down the general principles that "the cause of most labor troubles lies not so much in economic as moral conditions," and concurred in the statement of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in organizing its Department of Church and Labor, that "the labor question is fundamentally a moral and religious question, and that it will never be settled upon any other basis."

It was held in the report that both capital and labor had rights, and both were urged to submit all differences to arbitration, if they could not be settled in friendly

conference. Child labor was mentioned as "a plain menace to the general welfare, and hostile to the spirit of the Christian religion." It was noted by the Commission that there had not been much increased demand from the Church for the books recommended in the report of 1904, and that mutual ignorance reigned in both the Church and labor groups. Summarizing communications from the Christian Social Union, the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, the Companions of the Holy Cross, the Eight-Hour League, and the Christian Socialist Fellowship, the Commission brought out the following important suggestions:

1. The co-ordination of various organizations in the Church interested in the labor problem;
2. The promotion of sympathetic relations with labor organizations; and
3. The use of the press for the increase of knowledge and interest on the part of church people.

TOUCHING these in turn we note the following facts:

1. Such work as is being done in the Church is sporadic and local. It is well known that the C.A.I.L. and the Christian Social Union express a dividing rather than a uniting of Church interest in these questions. In various dioceses where neither of these organizations is represented, local Committees or individual bishops and clergy have, we believe, done good work. But there is no head. There is no united action. The influence of the Church is not brought to bear with power. It is our judgment that this condition should cease; that Diocesan Committees of Social Service and the like should be formed, and brought into mutual co-operation.

   That can be done only through a body commissioned by General Convention with power adequate to the purpose.
2. In regard to the establishment of sympathetic relations with labor organizations we have already spoken. We believe it is of essential importance. We believe further that it will be accomplished throughout the country on a wide scale only

through the agency of some central body which will initiate and stimulate.

3. It is clear likewise that only such a body will have scope enough to make proper and effective use of the press. Under this head would fall the publication and circulation of brief tracts on special subjects, list of books recommended for use, and tables of statistics and reports of progress, also the use of the public press in presenting all industrial questions in the light of Christian thought.

THE report closed with a resolution that the Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor be made a permanent Commission, empowered to co-ordinate the work of the various agencies existing in the Church in the interests of social questions. This resolution was adopted by both Houses, as much on the strength of a memorial on the subject from the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross, as on the Commission's own advice.

The Rev. Dr. Hopkins of Chicago presented a resolution on "Labor Sunday," which was referred to the now permanent Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor, asking that the clergy be requested to observe the Sunday before the first Monday in September as "Labor Sunday," that special sermons be preached on the relations between capital and labor in the light of Christ's commandments, and that all possible efforts be made to invite both employers and wage-earners to such special services. At the following Convention this resolution was reported as recommended by the Commission.

The first move made in the field of industrial relations at the 1910 General Convention was a resolution submitted to the House of Deputies, asking that the Convention appoint a "Social Service Secretary." The House referred the resolution to the Committee on the State of the Church, which reported that they did not

consider it within the scope of their action, and suggested it be referred to the Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor. It was further suggested by the Committee on the State of the Church that the name of the permanent Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor be changed to "The Joint Commission on Social Service" in order to indicate more plainly its enlarged functions.

The next day the triennial report of the Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor was presented to the House of Deputies by the Rev. Mr. Parsons. In this report may be seen the wider range of thought and interest in the Commission, brought about by the resolution of the 1907 Convention empowering the Commission to co-ordinate the various social agencies in the Church. Industrial relations continued, of course, to be a part of the Commission's concern, but only as one among others. There were several points in the report of 1910 bearing on conditions in industry and labor. The principle concerning property laid down by the Lambeth Conference was endorsed, that:

> The Conference urges upon the members of this church practical recognition of the moral responsibility involved in their investments. This moral responsibility extends to — (*a*) the character and general social effect of any business or enterprise in which their money is invested; (*b*) the treatment of the persons employed in that business or enterprise; (*c*) the due observance of the requirements of the law relating thereto (*d*) the payment of a just wage to those who are employed therein.

Among the diocesan social service committees (in twelve dioceses and one missionary district) it was pointed out that Chicago contributed a very interesting study of the attitude of labor towards the Church. "Labor Sunday" was recommended to the Church and the Convention ac-

cepted the three appeals of the Federal Council of Churches in behalf of labor, which were (1) a gradual and reasonable reduction of hours to the lowest practical point and that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life, (2) a release from employment one day in seven, (3) a living wage as a minimum in every industry, and the highest wage that each industry can afford. "No Christian employer," said the report, "can find valid ground for conducting an industry which requires, or even permits, the regular employment of men for twelve hours a day seven days in the week at a wage which necessitates the work of women and children that the family may live."

Pointing out that better physical conditions are not ends, but means to an end of making better men and women, the report declared that unions are justified through seeking such an end. The Church was losing its hold upon the life of the laborer, in the opinion of the Commission, and only by sympathetic touch could the relationship be established.

Appended to the Commission's report was the following resolution, which was adopted by the General Convention:

Resolved That the Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor be discharged.

Resolved That a Joint Commission on Social Service be appointed consisting of five Bishops, five presbyters and five laymen. It shall be the duty of this Commission to study and report upon social and industrial conditions, to co-ordinate the activities of the various organizations existing in the Church in the interests of social service, to co-operate with similar bodies in other Communions; to encourage sympathetic relations between capital and labor, and to deal according to their discretion with these and kindred matters.

The only other incident in the Cincinnati Convention

that had to do with industrial problems was a resolution presented by Bishop Greer of New York, calling for better legislation and better enforcement of the laws for the protection of children in industry, to the end that exploitation of the labor of children might be made impossible.

In October of the following year, 1911, the Commission appointed the Rev. F. M. Crouch to the full-time office of field secretary, and one year later secured for him an office in the Church Missions House at 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City. An extensive correspondence and educational programme was carried on, and the Commission did much to organize the social service agencies which were active in seventy-five dioceses and missionary districts by the time of the General Convention of 1913. However, the work of the Commission in the field of industrial relations was taking a less important part as its scope of social interests increased. The greater part of the Commission's activity along industrial lines was done in co-operation with the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, which was then leading all other Church agencies in relating Christianity to labor and industry.

The Joint Commission on Social Service went to the 1913 General Convention at New York City prepared to make social problems an important part of the proceedings. The Rev. Mr. Melish of Long Island presented the Commission's report, which was placed on the calendar to be considered later. A mass-meeting was held at which several clergymen and laymen spoke of the relation between church and social service, and presented the report of the Commission's work and findings for the period of 1910–13.

The report closed with a resolution which was adopted by the Convention, making the Joint Commission a permanent Commission on Social Service:

Resolved The House of Deputies concurring, That the present Joint Commission on Social Service be made a permanent Commission, additions to its membership being made by the Chairman of the House of Bishops and the President of the House of Deputies; that it shall be the duty of this Commission to study and report upon social and industrial conditions; to co-ordinate the activities of the various organizations existing in the Church in the interests of social service; sympathetic relations between capital and labor; and to deal according to their discretion with these and kindred matters; and that the General Convention approve the intention of the Commission to appeal to the Church at large for funds for the extension of its work —

BESIDES the change into a permanent Commission, the addition of new members, the report and the mass-meeting, the 1913 Convention passed, with the advice of the Social Service Commission, several resolutions dealing with child labor, recommending a half-holiday one day a week in industry and one day's rest in seven, and resolving that "we, the Members of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, do hereby affirm that the Church stands for the ideal of justice, and that it demands the achievement of a social order in which the social cause of poverty and the gross human waste of the present order shall be eliminated; and in which every worker shall have just return for that which he produces, a free opportunity for self-development, and a fair share in all the gains of progress."

During the years 1913–1916 the Social Service Commission carried on an active work of propaganda and co-ordination of Church social organizations in the interest of more effective social service, under the direction of

the executive secretary, the Rev. F. M. Crouch. Largely through the efforts of the Commission the number of diocesan social service agencies was increased to eighty, leaving only half-a-dozen dioceses and missionary districts of the Church's continental area unrelated officially to the study and attempted solution of the social problems presented by their respective fields. According to published reports of these commissions for the year 1915 there were seventeen interested in labor questions, including as special interests, unemployment, the "safety" movement, mining conditions, and child and woman labor. No other single social problem claimed as many interested commissions.

When the provincial system was established by the General Convention in 1913 the Commission did much to bring about the recognition of social service by the provincial synods as of co-ordinate importance with missions and religious education. The movement for parish social agencies was stimulated through the Commission's activity, so that organizations of rectors and "lay-workers" in many places were busy studying industrial questions in their own communities, such as hours and conditions of employment, wages, occupational accidents and diseases, and child labor.[2] In all this movement the interested co-operation of the laymen was sought after, on the theory that any endeavor of the Church with relation to vital human problems must eventually fall to the ground unless the layman is brought to recognize his social opportunities and to assume his social obligations.

From the outset the Commission maintained friendly and co-operative relations with the volunteer Church

[2] See "Second Triennial Report, 1916," the Joint Commission on Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

[illegible]

agencies of social reform. One of these, the Christian Social Union, voluntarily disbanded in 1912 to hand over its activities to the Commission, which the Union felt to be the culmination of its own work. When the General Convention met in St. Louis in 1916 the Social Service Commission was prepared to give account of itself for the past three years. For this purpose there was a Joint Session of both Houses with the Presiding Bishop in the chair.

The Commission, and others interested in the relation of Church and Social problems, were gratified at the Convention to see several spontaneous efforts from individuals and voluntary organizations. The Diocese of Rhode Island submitted a memorial to the Convention, which contained a resolution asking that the Social Service Commission formulate "a fuller definition of the field of Social Service." This resolution was adopted. The Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross submitted the following resolution concerning human values in industry, which was adopted by the Convention:

Resolved That the service of the community and the welfare of the workers, not primarily private profit, should be the aim of every industry and its justification; and that the Church should seek to keep this aim constantly before the mind of the public; and that Christians as individuals are under the solemn obligation on the one hand conscientiously to scrutinize the sources of their income, and on the other hand to give moral support and prayer to every just effort to secure fair conditions and regular employment for wage-earners, and the extension of true democracy to industrial matters.

THE Convention also adopted two further resolutions presented by the Social Service Commission. One placed the Convention on record as favoring more remedial methods in jails and endorsement of the "National Committee on

Prisons," and the other declared "that one day in seven for rest is a divine law for humanity and an inalienable right of every man and every woman."

In the interim between the St. Louis Convention and the Convention of 1919 in Detroit came the World War and its tremendous influence on society. Due to abnormal demands for production, and other causes that are part and parcel of the war-time spirit and war psychology, industrial conflicts increased everywhere. In 1919, the year of the Convention, American industry saw more strikes and lock-outs than ever before or since in its history. This condition clashing with the co-operative feeling that is a necessary part of a warring nation's thought, brought forth a great deal of hysterical opinion about labor and the danger of "Bolshevism." Naturally, then, wide interest and attention were centered on the Convention's proceedings in the field of industrial relations.

In the matter of social service machinery in the Church, the most important action bearing on the Commission of Social Service was the organization of the "Presiding Bishop and Council" (renamed in 1922 "The National Council"). Authority was given to the Presiding Bishop and Council to organize a Department of Christian Social Service, to have jurisdiction over it and determine the scope of its work. In order to permit a smooth working-out of the details, a resolution was passed permitting the Joint Commission on Social Service to continue the discharge of its functions until January 1920, when its work would be taken over by the Presiding Bishop and Council.

A Joint Session of the House of Bishops and the House of Deputies met on the fifth day of the Convention to consider the report of the Commission on Social Service.

Bishop Guerry of South Carolina presided and opened the meeting with a short speech on the Commission and its purpose. Other speakers were Bishop Brewster of Connecticut, the Rev. W. Russell Bowie, of Virginia, and the Rev. Frank M. Crouch, executive secretary, who gave a detailed account of the Commission's work since 1916. The most important item in the Commission's programme had been the publication of educational matter, the chief issues being contained in a series of "War Service Bulletins." Their general purpose, as declared by the Joint Commission, was "to maintain the present industrial and educational standards attained through long effort, and not allow them to be lowered by the so-called 'emergency' demands . . . except so far as may be absolutely necessary in view of future contingencies."

Bearing directly on the industrial problem, several resolutions were passed by the Convention. The unusual number of labor disputes prior to the Detroit gathering moved the Convention to pass a resolution urging upon capital and labor alike the acceptance of "the principle of partnership as the business aspect of brotherhood," the submission of all differences to competent boards of arbitration and the recognition of service to the community as a whole, rather than individual gain as the primary motive in every kind of work.

It was further resolved by the Convention that the Department of Christian Social Service should be effectively related to other constituted agencies existing for the solution of social and industrial problems. The Convention of the Diocese of Los Angeles presented a Memorial asking that a canon be written into the Constitutions and Canons demanding of every member of the Episcopal

Church the full assumption of responsibility in the cause of social justice. This memorial was referred to the Commission on Social Service, which reported back to the Convention. In their judgment no such general action would bring about the desired end. "Such justice," the report read, "must be promoted by a fearless and consecrated Church membership, rather than by general enactment."

In fulfillment of the canon regulating organization of the Presiding Bishop and Council, Dean Charles N. Lathrop of Milwaukee was elected executive secretary of the Department of Christian Social Service at the regular meeting of the Department in May 1920, and took office on the first of September.

The duties and activities of the Department were assuming greater proportions and steps were taken to enlarge the staff. An assistant secretary was appointed in 1923, and a secretary for rural work was appointed in 1924. In February 1925 a secretary for Church Institutions was appointed. The appointment of a secretary for industrial relations had not yet seemed expedient.

When the General Convention met in 1922 in Portland, Oregon, a review of the work of the Department of Social Service was presented by Dean Lathrop, executive secretary, at a joint session of the two Houses. Though by this time industrial relations no longer dominated the conception of Church social service as it had in 1901 under the Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor, nevertheless, there were many who considered it of first importance that the Church maintain some concern in the problems of labor and industry, as a necessary part of the Social Service Department's work. To express

the Convention's interest in industrial problems, and its opinions in a general way, a declaration on industry and labor by the Lambeth Council of 1920 was reaffirmed.[3]

The Department of Christian Social Service was fortunate through this period in having its interest, so far as industrial problems are concerned, bolstered up by contacts of mutual sympathy with groups and individuals engaged in the field of industrial relations. Speakers from industrial relations organizations were always present at the annual National Conferences on Social Work, held under the auspices of the Department of Social Service. Miss Mary van Kleeck, director of Industrial Studies in the Russell Sage Foundation, led the round-table discussion on industry at the Conference of 1924. Mr. W. B. Spofford of the Church League for Industrial Democracy spoke at the meeting in 1925, and led the discussion on industrial problems.

The utterances of the House of Delegates of the General Convention of 1925, in New Orleans, indicate that the mind of the Church, through its representative body, had become more or less clarified in the matter of industrial relations. The Social Service Department of the National Council reported at a joint session of the Houses, and in return received from the House of Delegates a comprehensive statement of instructions.[4] These instructions, however, failed to receive official action from both Houses, since they were referred (before going to the House of Bishops) to the Department of Christian Social Service, which meets between Conventions.

A vote was passed at the Department's meeting in December 1925, to have appointed a Secretary of Industrial

[3] See Appendix II.
[4] See Appendix II.

Relations. The meeting in February 1926, passed a resolution to create the office, to be filled when the funds were forthcoming. This resolution was again presented to the Council in May. When it was learned that the Department had created a secretary for industrial relations, the Church Association for the Advancement of Labor disbanded. It had been C.A.I.L.'s purpose for years to get the Church to officially recognize the field of industry and labor, and now that it had done so, the Association felt the logical time for disbanding had come. It formally transferred its work to the Department of Christian Social Service on May 25, 1926.

In recognition of her long service as secretary of the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, Miss Harriette Keyser was appointed an additional member of the Department, but unfortunately she was unable to accept. The Central Labor Union Council of Greater New York invited the Department to send two representatives to its meetings, as fraternal delegates. Dr. Annie S. Daniel, and the Rev. Mr. Floyd S. Leach, members of C.A.I.L. were invited to be those representatives, but could not accept because of the stress of other obligations.

At the Department meeting on December 13, 1927, it was voted to nominate Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., secretary of the Workers Education Bureau, to the Presiding Bishop as Consultant of Industrial Relations. The appointment was made and confirmed by the National Council. The Division of Industrial Relations was to spend one year on a fact-finding survey of the relation between Church and Industry, and Mr. Miller was to act as Consultant and Director of the study. Mr. Joseph F. Fletcher, of Berkeley Divinity School, was

appointed Research Assistant for the Division's survey, and the work began February 1, 1928.

It was the idea of the Department of Christian Social Service that a first year of disinterested fact-finding would provide an invaluable foundation upon which to base the Department's policy toward labor and industry in its future work, and it was with that belief that the Division gathered together the material for the present report.

Part II
PAROCHIAL ACTIVITIES

CHAPTER IX

THE FIELD STUDIES

IN THE opinion of many who are keenly interested in the problem, the ultimate test of a Church's programme on industrial relations takes place in its local parish. Here the fundamental and homely influence of one Christian on another, and the limitations that industrial conditions impose on the individual and on Churchmen as a group, are worked out in their simplest form. If it is true that the teachings of the Gospels and the verities of the Christian Faith have a meaning for men and women in all walks of life, and if these principles have a more immediate significance as they are formulated and expressed among an organized body of Christians, then it seems reasonable to expect an obvious and concrete application in the parish, where we can see Christianity alive in the most fundamental of corporate units. It is this conviction which has prompted the Division to undertake field studies in the areas of several major industries, to discover the situation in the average parish.

Parishes were selected in the Pennsylvania coal-fields, a cotton-mill district in North Carolina, a mining town in southern Illinois, and a manufacturing centre in Wisconsin. With no previous knowledge whatever, these parishes were approached with the purpose of making a data

report on the number of members, their occupations, conditions of life, influence on and from fellow Churchmen, the relation of the parish in whatsoever respect to labor and employers, the opinions of the vestry, employer, and worker communicants, and other information necessary to an intelligent survey. Only bare facts and honest opinions were sought as the basis for a distinterested and objective study.

First, a word as to the method of approach in these parish studies. The Division's investigator was armed with a letter of introduction from the Presiding Bishop and a card of membership in a labor union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, so that he was enabled immediately to make *bona fide* connexions with the Church and labor elements on the scene of the study. Where it was possible, letters were also carried to employers in the community. Representative persons in each of these three groups were interviewed, as well as public officials in some cases, so that all sides of each question might be recorded. The reports of these Field studies when completed were sent in each case to those interviewed for their examination and criticism. This procedure has enabled the Division to be assured of the authenticity of the facts and figures as originally secured and to get a balanced judgment of our interpretation. But inevitably this procedure has involved us in extended delays. In the case of one of these studies, written in the spring of 1928, it has been impossible to secure the final revision of the report until the summer of 1930. However, it has been felt that accuracy was of greater importance than speed, and that the delay would guarantee a greater faithfulness to both fact and opinion.

It is well, however, to remember that the problem

was strictly limited to the Church-Industry relationship, and any seemingly irrelevant matter in the four following chapters is included in the belief that it helps to shed light on the problem at hand. The great interest and importance of the situation in these studies often made it difficult not to expand a little on the whole economic and industrial condition, regardless of any significance for the Church, but this temptation was steadfastly rejected.

During the actual writing of these chapters an effort was made to supplement and "fill out" the information gained in the field with other information from current literature and history of the subject. Much of this material is indicated in foot-notes. In some cases, of course, great changes have taken place in the conditions described since the visit of the investigator, and therefore each chapter is to be read as of the date given in a footnote to the title.

It is a question how far safe generalization may go on the basis of the principles and conditions revealed in four parish surveys. It is our belief that these parishes fairly represent the average state of affairs in other parishes of the same industrial area. Certain facts are constant in all studies, regardless of the geography and industry of the parish. Other facts, naturally, are more or less peculiar to location, and yet in the nature of the case, are vital parts of the picture and deserve the most careful attention. No attempt is made in these four chapters to discuss the justice or value of any of the conditions described.

It seems as important to note failure to realize advantages in parish life, as to describe successful attempts to relate the Church programme to industrial situations.

But were such an analysis attempted the domain of criticism would necessarily be entered, and our field studies could no longer lay claim to being "objective" or "disinterested" reports. We have, therefore, postponed all summary and critical analysis of our discoveries in parish life for development in a final chapter.

This renunciation of analysis may be forgotten to the extent of saying that these field studies reveal the simple parochial unit of the Church to be a most important meeting-ground for answering industry's challenge. Industrial groups may communicate and touch with the Church through diocesan and Church-wide channels, but these are necessarily superstructural. It is in the parishes of the Church, comparable in the religious world to the family in society, that the rank and file of Christianity touch hands with the rank and file of labor and industrial production, and more often than not find themselves one and the same persons.

CHAPTER X

WEST FRANKFORT, ILLINOIS[1]

WEST FRANKFORT, Illinois, is a typical coal city of 22,000 inhabitants. Like others, it has grown up to serve as commissary for the surrounding mine villages, the base of supplies for thousands of miners who are West Frankfort's main source of trade. The one is dependent on the other; when the one is in difficulty the other suffers equally. When the miners are unable to buy, due to low wages, short working time, or strike idleness, West Frankfort's business drops and financial depression sets in. This was exactly the situation in the spring of 1928, when the agreement between District 12 of the United Mine Workers and the Coal Operators' Association of Illinois expired, and the miners walked out on strike. How did this state of affairs affect the Church, and what place did the Church hold in the situation? The latter of these questions is best answered in replying to the former — how did this state of affairs affect the Church?

Being a typical coal centre in Illinois, the position of the Church in West Frankfort reflects the inter-relation of Church and industry most clearly. On the registry of St. Mark's mission in West Frankfort are the names of

[1] Study made in April 1928.

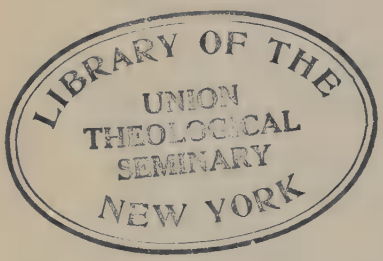
seventy-four baptized persons, forty-six of whom are confirmed and thirty-seven of whom are regular communicants. There is at least one man from every family in the mission, and in some cases two or three men. Every person in the mission is English born or the American-born child of English parents; they all inherit the Anglican tradition and they are all members of miner's families.

This is not an unusual occurrence in southern Illinois, where a large proportion of the miners are English or Welsh, and where the percentage of non-Anglo Saxon miners is much lower than in other localities, as in northern West Virginia. Fifteen of the eighteen men are miners and members of the union, one is a former mine manager (at present unemployed), and two are high school students (seventeen years of age). In addition to the regular services of the mission, there is a Men's Club of twenty members of the Church, a Boys' Club of twenty-seven members, a Sunday School of thirty-three members, a Ladies' Guild of fifteen members, and a Girls' Friendly Society of thirty-three members. The mission hall, a frame structure of one room, is the scene of the mission's entire activity, religious and social.

Rev. W. M. Purce, who is the priest in charge of St. Mark's mission, has also care of three other preaching stations, as yet unorganized, and one other mission. At Benton, twelve miles from West Frankfort, there are fifteen families, forty baptized persons, and twenty-two confirmed. Of the number of confirmed persons, seven are men, all of whom are regular communicants. All but one are miners and members of the union: The one man who is an exception had always been in the union until his promotion to a managerial position, which excluded

St. Mark's Episcopal Mission, West Frankfort, Ill.

Mine Workers Who Are Members of St. Mark's Episcopal Mission


LIBRARY OF THE
UNION
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY
NEW YORK

him from membership. He is now assistant manager of Orient Mine No. 2, of the Chicago, Wilmington, and Franklin Coal Co. Services are held twice a month in a Christian Science Hall rented for the purpose, on one week-day night and on one Sunday afternoon.

At Ziegler, eight miles away, Father Purce ministers to a group of fifteen families, including twenty-six confirmed persons, fourteen of whom are men. With the exception of a company doctor and a public service official, the men of the Ziegler group are all miners and members of the union. Services at Ziegler are held in a room of the public school building every Friday evening, with a Sunday School meeting one Sunday afternoon per month, and an Evening Prayer service one Sunday afternoon per month.

The smallest of Father Purce's missions is at Buckner, where there are ten families, and ten men in the group, all of whom are Englishmen, miners, and members of the union. Buckner's services are held in the meeting hall of the United Mine Workers, on the second and third afternoon of the month. The largest attendance at a Buckner service has been twenty-seven, and nine has been the lowest. The work in the Buckner preaching station has begun since Father Purce came to West Frankfort, on April 29, 1927, and several names have been added to the mission register.

The other mission under Father Purce's care, and the fifth of his charges, is at McLeansboro. Here there is a little stone church and rectory, which provides the Church group in McLeansboro with more than ample quarters for their meetings. The relative splendor of these two buildings, as contrasted with the mean little frame hall in West Frankfort, is more evident, and the

contrast is heightened by the difference in the number of Church people in the two places, there being only eleven in McLeansboro. Services are held twice a month, once on a week-day night and once on a Sunday morning. The group of eleven persons includes six widows, a teacher, a student, a banker and his wife, and a travelling salesman. There are no miners in the McLeansboro group, and no miners' dependents.

Such, briefly, are the five missions or preaching stations which are cared for by Father Purce. With the exception of the mission in McLeansboro, two men in the Ziegler group, one man in Benton and one in West Frankfort, all the men in Father Purce's congregations are miners actually "working at the face" in one capacity or another. In addition to the five groups described, Father Purce also calls regularly at the homes of four miners' families in a mining village just outside West Frankfort.

The personality, the energy, and the consecration of Father Purce form an integral part of the picture; the possibilities and dynamic potentialities of the situation are clearly seen in his hopes for the work and his own impressions. A graduate of Griswold College, in Davenport, Iowa, he entered journalism and became editor of a daily newspaper in Davenport. Later he became editor of the *Tri-City Labor Weekly* in Davenport. During this period Father Purce was a member of the Knights of Labor, a labor union started in 1869 to escape craft divisions among the workers by organizing into a single union for all. The K. of L., which is generally considered by students of labor history to have been the forebear of the Industrial Workers of the World, with its idea of the "One Big Union" and the ultimate purpose of abolishing the wage system, gathered under its banners over nine thousand trade unions before it began to weaken and dis-

appear, finally, in the nineties. Father Purce still holds to the K. of L. principle that the unions should organize and function along industrial rather than craft or local lines. In the case of the Illinois miners' working contract, he considers that the union officials have violated the United Mine Workers' constitution and purpose by signing separate agreements "so that some miners are producing the coal that helps to break their fellow members' strike."

When his decision to enter the ministry was made Father Purce began to study in his spare time for canonical examinations. He was ordained deacon without ever having gone to a seminary. In 1925, after several years in the active ministry, he received the degree of LL.B. and passed the bar examinations of the State of Nevada, believing that a knowledge of law often stands a priest in good stead.

Due to the fact that his salary is only $1500 a year, plus his room, Father Purce lives above an empty store, in a ware-room which he has curtained off into living quarters. He has a little stove on which he cooks many of his meals. Sacrifices such as these are many on his part, and though he himself has ceased to regard them as such or to see them in any light but that of ordinary routine, visitors to his missions are aware of them at all times. His own time and personal needs are always subservient to the needs of his work among the miners and their families, and his opinion of the potentialities, "the dramatic opportunities," of the Church in the coal-fields is adequately expressed in his own terse words, "The Church has an hundred per cent challenge here from industry, and an hundred per cent opportunity to meet it. Will it be accepted?"

When Father Purce came to West Frankfort he found

the little mission hall unfinished, and mortgaged under a debt of $2600 to the Church Building Fund Commission. Several months before, during the year of 1926 when the miners were working with comparative regularity, his predecessor had got the mission hall started on the understanding that if the people of the mission would give $300 of the amount needed, the remainder could be collected elsewhere. In view of their economic insecurity and the irregularity of their work and wages, these Churchmen-miners hesitated to launch out on such a project, but after some discussion and planning they decided to go ahead with it. But after their share of the building fund had been raised they learned that the campaign in other quarters had been unsuccessful and that they must raise another sum of $425 among themselves. Unable to give any more, the miners of St. Mark's saw their new mission hall, half built, go mortgaged to the Church Building Fund, with the obligation to pay $31.25 on the debt every month. The new burden was met from month to month until April 1927, when the Jacksonville scale contract between the union and the operators expired. A strike began which lasted six months (the contract was renewed again in October for another six months' period) and the people of the parish had no money to give to the Church. In fact, they had no money to meet such ordinary and necessary expenses as grocery bills, and before the summer was over all of the men in the mission, with the exception of a father and his son, had left West Frankfort for other parts to look for work . . . a search which proved fruitless, since an unemployment wave had then taken hold of the other industries of the country. When work in the mines began again that fall Church dues were once more paid, but store bills were far in

arrears and it was impossible to make up the payment on the mortgages. On April 1, 1928, when the temporary contract had expired without bringing the operators and miners any nearer to an agreement, St. Martin's mission was six months behind in its mortgage dues to the Church Building Fund.

Two mistakes are quite clearly responsible for getting the mission into this difficulty. On the one hand, the miners of the West Frankfort Church assumed that Church groups more fortunate than they financially would be certain to help them build a meeting place; on the other hand, Father Purce's predecessor assumed that the current stories of high wages for miners were true, and that they were able to provide much more of the building fund than they were willing to agree to. Both saw their mistake; the miners were not a little embittered, and the unfortunate clergyman soon withdrew from the work at West Frankfort. His comment on the whole affair is a revelation. "It is useless to try to help these people," he said, "so long as they refuse to help themselves. Most of them can earn nine and ten dollars a day, and sometimes even more. They simply will not give."

According to figures of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, average possible yearly wage of miners in Illinois in 1924 was $1265.[2] We learn from tabulations issued by the Illinois Coal Operators' Association that the average earnings in Illinois mines for men who worked 76% or more of the time in which the mines operated, was $1460.40 in 1921, and $1130.08 in 1922. In the year 1923 the average earnings of men paid by the ton in shipping mines in Franklin County (West Frankfort is the county seat), according to the study made by the

[2] Handbook of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 439.

Illinois Department of Mines and Minerals, was $1245 for machine miners and $1309 for hand or "pick" miners. On the same authority, the average number of days worked in 1923 was 146, or less than one-half of the number of possible working days in the year. The same facts for the following years, up to 1927, when the strike began, will give us some idea of the "justice" of the criticism made by St. Mark's former priest-in-charge. In 1925 the average earnings of machine miners in Franklin County was $1284, of hand miners $1556, and average days worked 140; in 1926 the average earnings of machine miners in Franklin County was $1584, of the hand miners $1900, and average days worked 155. It might also be said, in extenuation for the miners of St. Mark's, that the majority of them are hand or "pick" miners, thus getting a lower wage than the machine operators and machine loaders, who are comparatively few. When we realize the uncertain conditions of the miner's occupation and consider what $720 would mean divided among the eighteen or twenty bread-winners of St. Mark's, we can see clearly that an accusation of wilful non-co-operation was hasty, if not decidedly unfair.

"It is futile," says Father Purce, "to hope that the Church will make any advances in the coal-fields as long as priests so uninformed are sent in here. My predecessor was handicapped with all the blindspots of those who are ignorant of industrial conditions and industrial problems. The miners here realized it. They found he didn't understand them or what they were doing, and they were naturally distrustful. There can be no real point of contact in such cases."

Of the eighteen men in St. Mark's mission, none had as much as 120 days' work during the year April 1927 to

April 1928; three men got only seventy-two days' work. Of course, it must be remembered that the men were on strike for six months, or one-half of this period, during which there was no money earned. But during the six months in which they were ready and willing to work when there was work to do, most of the men in the mission got less than half-time. To illustrate the earnings of these Churchmen-miners, one man's is as follows for the last two weeks ending March 31, 1928:

Gross Earnings		$76.11
Miner's check-offs for:		
Powder	3.95	
Union dues	3.50	
Union assessments	1.44	
Docks (for slate, etc.)	10.00	
Safety lamp rent	.83	
Net Earnings	$56.39	

If a miner spurred on by a desire to make up for a long period of no earnings, makes only about $28.20 a week, consider his income for a year in which half of the time is spent in forced idleness, even when there is no strike and he is more than anxious to work. Notice also that over twenty-five per cent of his earnings are deducted, part for the cost of the powder he has used, "docks" for the amount of slate discovered in his cars of coal as they leave the mine, rent paid the company for the use of an electric safety lamp *required by law,* union dues and a union assessment for relief money for his fellow union-members in the eastern coal-fields, who were on strike to withstand a wholesale cut in wages and to maintain the union and union conditions.

The pay-roll of a West Frankfort mine employing 800 men, for the year December 1926 to December 1927, reveals that the average earnings of loaders, which is

the type of work done by the majority of miners, amounted to less than $1000; the highest rank-and-file miner's wage was about $1200. The highest wage on the list was received by a top-boss who worked continually throughout the year; his earnings for the year were $2790. This mine operated as many days as any in the country, and few mines in the State did better.

Asked what he considered the Church should do in a situation such as existed among his own people, Father Purce expressed himself quite definitely on one point, at least: "The first and most obvious thing that the Church should do is to require the clergy to be intelligently informed on industrial and labor questions. It should hardly be necessary to point that out. Miners, and all workingmen for that matter, soon know when a priest is ignorant of their problems and ambitions. And, of course, such ignorance will soon get a priest into hot water, especially if he is ministering to a congregation composed of real industrial workers such as we have here in West Frankfort."

Besides the necessity of an informed clergy in industrial fields, Father Purce thinks the Church should investigate all challenging industrial situations where Christian principle or spiritual values are involved. The bituminous coal industry, he maintained, had shown clearly enough that its only concern was successful competition and profits, and that human values had been made entirely subordinate to property values. "The Church should investigate this coal strike and make every effort to settle it reasonably. So far as the dispute between the miners and operators is concerned, I am with the miners, though the whole trouble is the result of underlying economic conditions which have got outside the control of both par-

ties. Personally, I favour the union principle as a general thing, and I am heartily in favour of the United Mine Workers. The miners' union is the only power that has kept anything like a human standard of living in the coal fields. But I do know that sometimes the union's demands are unreasonable, and the Church should make every effort to settle it fairly for both sides.

"I really feel that the Church could help to bring about an agreement in the coal strike, and I know that if it did, it would do more for Church work than all the preaching that will be done in the next ten years. I remember the arbitration commission that was appointed to settle an anthracite coal strike in Pennsylvania many years ago. A Roman Catholic bishop was its chairman. Their findings were rejected by the operators but President Roosevelt sent word to them to accept or hand over their mines. Then they accepted.

"To discuss the question 'Has Labor the right to organize?' seems to me a pointless debate. Labor has demonstrated its right to organize, and in the coal industry a glance back in history is enough to show the stark necessity of a miner's union. And then, of course, Capital has organized, which makes it even more right and imperative for Labor to organize too. As for the Church's relation to the unions, I say that the General Convention should endorse labor unions, and I say it knowing well enough that many of our very best Church people are engaged in disputes and 'wars' with them."

One man, a "shot-firer" in the mines at Zeigler, is one of the great number of Illinois Englishmen from Durham. Because shot-firing is a dangerous piece of work, involving the discharge of powder in the coal-seam to loosen and bring it down for loading on cars, he and his

fellow shot-firers go down into the mine at night when the other men are not working and therefore not exposed to mishaps caused by faulty "shots." This English miner, who is about thirty years old, has always been a faithful Churchman and an ardent supporter of the Zeigler mission, but due to his odd hours of work he usually misses the little Church services held in the public school building every Friday evening. "But whether I am at Church or not," he says, "and I always go if I am not down below, my wife and children are always there. The wife is a little afraid to take the kiddies into that rickety old school-house, because a woman was killed in there not long ago by falling plaster. It is dangerous and we Episcopalians should have a home of our own. If we had a Church here we might get somewhere, and get all our people back to Church. Most of them have no religious life at all. Before the Methodists and Baptists and Catholics built their Churches they had only a few members, but now they've got many of our Church people and all their own. . . Apparently they expect us miners to pay for a Church. My God ! I tell you, to be frank, us miners aren't getting a fair deal from the Church. The Church should be the centre of our social life . . . of all social life, for that matter. Of all times the Church should be here now protecting the moral life of our people, and it isn't. People are not moral or religious when they have little or no pay or work. Conditions such as we have in here at present are breeding immorality and atheism. I think the Church should back the unions because they are working on Christian principles, and no one knows their faults better than I do, either. The operators never have worked on Christian principles. Unlike the Merchant of Venice, the operators

not only want their pound of flesh, but they want our heart and soul too."

Remarks and opinions such as this man's are representative of the general feeling among the people in Father Purce's missions. William Pollock, a mine superintendent and an active member of St. Mark's mission in West Frankfort, is convinced of the necessity for steady work and good wages, if an adequate Church work is to be carried on. He further believes that the union is the only dependable agent for keeping the miner's economic status up to a decent level.

"I have not been a member of the union for twenty-eight years," says Mr. Pollock, "but I know what it does for the workers. I know what they have won through organization, and to lose the union is unthinkable. I've been superintendent of mines for over twenty years, and I say quite definitely that I wouldn't even consider trying to run a mine without a union. It keeps track of the men, makes them independent and self-respecting, keeps up the quality of their work, keeps them satisfied, prevents the kind of moral conditions such as I saw last year in the non-union fields from growing up, and so on." Mr. Pollock insists that the Church should endorse the union, since "the union is the only thing that keeps the miner a decent wage, and if the miners and workers in general don't get a living wage, the Church dies." To illustrate his contention, he points out that "right here in West Frankfort we could start a regular parish, with a Church, if we had any money, but as it is we haven't enough to pay our store bills. The people here are anxious to get a parish and if that could be done, we could get back all the Church of England people who have gone over to the denominations, for want of a Church

of their own. And there is no Church because the miners are underpaid. When the workers starve, the Church life starves. Every man in the mission had to leave last year to look for work, so what kind of Church life can we have in the face of that? They came back empty-handed, anyway."

In the opinion of many miners and management officials in the district, a few minor changes in the Jacksonville wage scale are inevitable if sound agreement is to be reached. An alteration in the wages of the machine men, who are able to earn sums greatly out of proportion to other miners' wages, is foreseen by nearly everybody in the Illinois fields. Mr. Walter Cook shares the opinion of James Dunn, the general superintendent of mines for the Old Bar Coal Corporation who asserts: "The operators cannot get along without the union, because it keeps track of the men, watches the quality of their work, and offers a good machinery for collective bargaining. Union miners own their own homes and are permanent, but scab labor, such as in the southern fields, are content to live in company houses and remain in debt to company stores. They have no ties, such as a home and self-respect, and consequently they never remain fixed in one place. The operators of this State want the union because they can run their mines better with it. The Church should endorse the unions. The principle of the unions is good." "I went into the mines when I was nine years old," said Mr. Dunn, "and though I have not belonged to the union for years, I know what it has done for the miners. We can thank God for the union. I am not saying that the Church should support the union in everything they do, or that it should support all union officials. I have had many a fight with the

unions, and they can be in the wrong as well as operators or employers." Mr. Cook, assistant manager of Orient Mine No. 2, of the Chicago, Wilmington, and Franklin Coal Company, who was born a member of the Church of England and gives all his support to Father Purce's mission in Benton, emphasizes that the union is needed.

"Absentee ownership" is common in the coal business, and especially in the district about West Frankfort. The owners and directors live in cities far removed from the mines, the operation of which they entrust to their managing officials. However, Mr. D. M. Wood of Johnson City, a retired coal operator, now an insurance broker and a Churchman (though not affiliated with one of Father Purce's missions), has watched the dispute in the bituminous industry grow with great interest and close attention. In his opinion there will have to be a change in the wage scale because the unions are asking more than the operators can pay. "The Churches," says Mr. Wood, "should approve the unions. They are a good thing and Heaven forbid that they are ever destroyed. They have done untold good to the miners, I know. Some union officials are a detriment to their organizations, though, and the Church should not commit itself to every individual union man. I think the Churches have a right and should speak when unchristian conditions exist in industry, and such conditions do exist often enough. . . As for the coal operators, they couldn't get along without the union."

Wishing to get opinions of people allied with all interested groups in the situation, letters were sent from the Division of Industrial Relations to two directors of the Old Ben Mine Corporation. It was unfortunate that

they did not have residence in the coal-field itself so that they might be interviewed in person, but the mails provided the second best approach. The general problem and study pursued in the southern Illinois area was described in these letters, and questions were put to the directors which follow along the lines of the conversations with their management officials in the mines. One man answered, expressing his desire that his remarks should not be published under his own name. The answer is given verbatim, as follows:

The Church should interest itself at all times in the relations between capital and labor. It should stand solidly for fairness to labor, by influencing employers whenever possible in the event of unjust discrimination against the individual laborer, or groups of laborers.

It should use its influence with both employee and employer to prevent violence, hasty or radical action in any industrial dispute. Generally, the Church should make an earnest attempt to bring about, between employee and employer, an appreciation of each others' problems that will foster mutual respect.

The Church should not endorse labor unions. So many industries today have adopted the open shop policy, resulting in better feeling between management and men than in industries where labor unions are strongly entrenched, that all indications point to a further decline in the labor union movement.

Regarding the present coal situation in southern Illinois, on first thought it appears that it does not lie within the Church's province to take any definite attitude in the present controversy between the miners and operators over a reduction in wages. If more thought is given to the subject, however, it is seen that there exists a direct relation between the Church and a possible real service to the men in this instance. If, in the judgment of the Church, the men would be happier and the entire community benefited by a reduction in wages there does not seem to be any real reason why the Church's influence should not be given to that purpose.

It would seem from this letter that the writer is not entirely in agreement with his managers and employees

as to the value of unions and collective bargaining. The suggestion in the last paragraph, that the Church might do the men of the coal industry a real service by supporting a reduction of miners' wages, is at wide variance with any opinions met in West Frankfort.

The missions in and about West Frankfort present us with a clear-cut object lesson in the influence and relationship between the Church and industry, especially in regard to parochial life and the welfare of the Church programme in an industrial parish. The personnel of this parish is somewhat unusual, all the members being English (the majority from Durham) and union coal miners, or their dependents. But otherwise it presents a typical picture of a parish in an industrial community, conditioned by the fortunes of industry and dependent upon industry for its very bread and butter. The Church here is part and parcel of industrial production, its gains and its misfortunes.

A most striking part of this situation is the universal agreement shared by all parties, that the union is necessary to the industry and that a reduction of wages would be deplorable. The "absentee" director offers the only dissenting opinion. Whatever the explanation for his lack of enthusiasm for the union and the present wage level, it is significant that he lives in an eastern city, while both his management and labor who have to deal with the practical problems of production hold a different view.

The drastic effect of low wages, feared so by the people of West Frankfort, has been obvious in the coal industry for some time. A department-store owner in the southern non-union coal-fields stated recently that business in his community was fatally low, and ascribed it to the chaotic condition of overdevelopment in the mines with

consequent unemployment, and a wage scale thirty per cent lower than the scale of 1917.[3] West Frankfort sees this condition menacing, and hugs the strike as its final defence.

Lack of continuous occupation and low wages had a definite adverse effect on the missions of West Frankfort. Having no money for grocers and doctors the Churchmen could not pay their Church dues. Their mission-hall went under a mortgage, and instead of growing, the Church attendance decreased. Unable to pay for their own parish programme, the West Frankfort congregation is forced to stand by and see their Anglican brethren lost to other communions, or to an un-Churched life. They are possessed with a feeling of bitterness and hopelessness of ever attaining an adequate programme, to stem the tide away from the Church and moral living. The cause of their predicament, they say, is an unfair industry, ignorant clergy, and the indifference of their fellow Churchmen in other walks of life. The relation between Church and industry is a paramount and indisputable fact in these five missions of southern Illinois.

[3] About $5.00 basic day wage, changed in 1920 by the Bituminous Coal Commission to $6.00, which in turn was changed a few months later to $7.50 by a joint conference of the Central Competitive Field.

CHAPTER XI[1]

KENOSHA, WISCONSIN

IT IS one thing to inquire into the nature of a group of Churchmen and women resident in a community dominated by one or two great industries which demand the time and thought of the majority, and something quite different when that group maintains itself in a centre of widely diversified occupations. The latter condition may be said to hold true in most of the manufacturing cities of the Middle West. This is especially true of the position of the Episcopal congregation in Kenosha, Wisconsin, where half of the parish are salaried and half are wage earners employed in twenty different trades and industries.

St. Matthew's Episcopal Church in Kenosha is made up of an average group of citizens from all walks of life, fairly representative of a congregation of Mid-western Church people, counting among its members bank presidents and plumbers, lawyers and laborers, skilled and unskilled mechanics, professional men and women, office clerks and other desk employees, union and non-union workers: in short, a wide variety of trades and business affiliations. In addition to the main parish of St. Matthew's there is a little chapel out in the mill district of the city. St. Mat-

[1] Study made in April 1928.

thew's Church, itself, and the parish-houses, are centrally located, but closer to the business houses and the prosperous residential section of Kenosha. The different location of the Church is reflected in their members and the type of work they do, the Chapel folk obviously moving in a lower financial stratum than most of the communicants at St. Matthew's. The rector, the Rev. K. D. Martin, has immediate charge of St. Andrew's chapel, as well as of the Church, fulfilling his priestly function for both groups.

There are 520 adults listed in the parish record at St. Matthew's for the year 1927. Thirty-five per cent, or 182 of this number, are men, ninety-three being salaried and eighty-nine wage earners. Practically, one-half of the men are workers and one-half are "white-collar" people. The salaried group includes contractors, superintendents, and other management officials, some of whom are stockholders in their companies, salesmen, and professional men. The workers are employed in twenty different trades and jobs, as follows: plumbers, carpenters, blacksmiths, policemen, teamsters, and truck-drivers, butchers, workers in a bed-manufacturing plant, a brass foundry and an automobile factory, machinists, linotype operators, compositors, masons, plasterers, mechanics, painters, lathers, electricians, office clerks, watchmen, and common laborers.

Thirteen of the St. Matthew's workers are members of trade unions and seventy-six are non-union workers, one working as a strike-breaker in the local full-fashioned hosiery mill where a dispute over recognition of the union and innovations in production methods has resulted in a strike, according to the company, or a "lock-out," according to the mill workers. Nine Episcopalian workers in

Kenosha have been dropped from union rosters, or have withdrawn of their own accord, because of failure to pay dues, lack of interest and co-operation, and other such causes. Of the 340 women in the parish, eighteen are engaged in work outside of the home, eight in clerical occupations as stenographers, book-keepers and filing-clerks, two as wage earners in the local hosiery mill and one as waitress in a restaurant.

The vestry of St. Matthew's is composed of ten members, all of whom are company officials in banks or manufacturing and supply concerns, except for two wage earners who are clerks, one in a brass plant and the other in an automobile factory.

St. Andrew's chapel is more a workers' congregation than the main parish. Of the total chapel enrollment in 1927, thirty-nine are men and fifty-nine are women. Yet, as compared with the eighteen women of St. Matthew's who are employed in other than domestic and family duties, only two of the women in the chapel work outside of the home. One of these holds a clerical position and the other is a topper in the local hosiery mill. As compared to the even division of salaried and wage workers in the downtown parish, thirty-three of the men in St. Andrew's are wage workers and only six are salaried officials or business men. Seven of the thirty-three chapel men are members of trade unions, the rest being classed as non-union. Three of the union men are strikers in the hosiery mill dispute mentioned above, one of these being a member of the Executive Committee which acts as a sort of vestry for the chapel, and another singing[2] regularly in the choir as well as taking a spirited part in

[2] This "singing striker" has been in the choir twenty-eight years. At the end of his twenty-fifth year he was presented with a watch by the choir members.

the strike activities. On the Executive Committee are three automobile workers, a book-keeper, a salesman, a school janitor, an electrician, and the hosiery worker already mentioned.

The strike, or lock-out as the union workers consider it, began in February 1927, shortly after the Company (the Allen-A) announced that the "two-machine method" of knitting would be installed.[3] At the same time the firm announced it was raising the wages of those affected approximately 15 per cent. Under the method then in practice the knitters had been averaging around $50 a week, with star operators drawing as high as $80.

The knitters in the mill, organized in the American Federation of Full-Fashion Hosiery Workers, refused to work two machines. Despite the Company's offer of increased wages the workers declined, insisting that the doubling method would add too great a strain on their eyes and nerves, and that the Company could save more on "seconds" and waste by continuing with the one-machine method than it could make by an increased production with two machines. They further maintained that the addition of an extra helper would result after a few years in an oversupply of skilled labor in the industry, and that therefore wages and conditions would inevitably be lowered.

On their part, the mill owners contended that the two-machine method was not injurious to the health, that they were fair if they raised wages along with the individual's productive capacity, and that, after all, no group of workers had the right to dictate the technological policy

[3] The Allen-A Company installed a two-machine system, under which one experienced hosiery knitter operated two machines with the aid of two assistants or apprentices. Formerly the experienced man operated one machine with one helper.

of a business concern. The union announced that it absolutely refused to work under the new conditions and asked for strike authority from the national headquarters of the Federation. In the meantime the Company answered by posting the following notice on the mill door:

> THE FULL-FASHIONED DEPARTMENT WILL CLOSE WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 15TH. OPERATORS DESIRING TO RETURN UNDER A STRICTLY NON-UNION BASIS MAY DO SO AT ONCE.

THE knitters interpreted this as an indication that "the Company intended to take away from us all power to defend ourselves and our working conditions," and they refused to accept the terms of the notice. Thus, whether it is called a strike or a lock-out, the situation was begun.[4]

In full sympathy with the knitters and their position in the dispute about one hundred women employed in the mill joined the strikers' ranks, so that there were altogether about 300 workers involved. A strike of that proportion is of no little interest to a city of 55,000 population. The Kenosha papers carried daily stories of the progress of events, and the public followed them with the greatest interest. Feeling naturally ran high, especially among the other workers of the city, and this, together with the labor dispute publicity for Kenosha in the newspapers of the country, finally caused serious concern among the civic-minded people of the community. With a desire to see justice done, the clergy of the city met and

[4] No attempt is made here to describe the Allen-A strike *per se*, but only as it affects the problem in hand.

drew up the following letter offering mediation or any other services they could render:

It has been brought to our attention by the press and by members of our congregations that a labor condition exists at the Kenosha Allen-A plant which is detrimental both to the Company and to the majority of the full-fashioned knitters.
Without presuming to pass upon the merits of this controversy, and without prejudice for either side, we earnestly hope that an amicable settlement may soon be reached and to that end we wish to offer our services.

THE letter was signed by the rector of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church, the pastors of two M.E. Churches, the rabbi of the local Jewish Synagogue, and the assistant priest of the local Roman Catholic Church. In announcing the sending of the letter, the ministers stated that although there had been no attempt to canvass all of the clergy of the city, no minister had failed to join in the plan on being approached.

An immediate response came from the union. At a meeting of the general strike committee it was decided to accept the offer of mediation. A letter of acceptance was drawn up and signed by four officers of the Hosiery Workers' Local and two special representatives, Mr. Harold Steele, vice-president of the national organization and Mr. Louis Budenz, special organizer in the textile industry. The union letter read as follows:

We have given careful consideration to your good letter of March 2nd in regard to the dispute at the Allen-A hosiery mill. Believing that the general welfare of the company and the workers involved can only be conserved by industrial peace based on justice, we hereby accept your offer of mediation tending towards negotiations in this dispute.

The next day the six ministers received the following answer from the company:

This will acknowledge your kind letter of March 2nd in which you offer your services in trying to bring about a satisfactory settlement and, while we appreciate fully your kind offer, we feel that the issues in this particular case are such that we do not see any way in which you can be of assistance to us.

Should the situation develop, wherein we feel you can be helpful, we will be pleased to communicate with you.

It has often been said that community crises are the Church's opportunity to demonstrate its power of reconciliation, and it was probably on some such principle as this that the Kenosha ministers acted when they offered to go-between, for the hosiery disputants. Of course after receiving the Company's letter of refusal nothing more was done in the matter. The clergy felt that they had done all they could do as a group representing the Christian Communion.

Nothing more was done by them, either as a group or individually to relate the local Churches to the situation. No sermons were preached, no Church meetings or forums held. In Kenosha, however, there was one exception to this silence of religion. Rabbi Rappaport, of the local Jewish Synagogue and a signer of the offer of mediation, has been an outspoken critic of the Allen-A Company, and has championed the knitters on several occasions in the course of the struggle.

The union expressed itself as disappointed that the clergy's offer had failed to make a successful appeal, and reiterated its willingness to have ministers of the Churches serve as mediators. Mr. Louis Budenz, special organizer for the union and a member of the Roman Catholic Church, and Mr. Harold Steele, vice-president of the American Federation of Full-Fashion Hosiery Workers and a communicant of the Episcopal Church, feel that the Church has the right to offer her services in the dis-

pute and that there is no more proper and disinterested group of men for the task than Christian ministers.

"It is a good opportunity," said Mr. Steele, "for the Church to take her message directly into a situation that needs it badly. I do not know of anything in the world that needs the direct influence of Christianity so much as industry does. Most of the young men and women in this affair are Roman Catholics or Lutherans, but there are a few Episcopalians and I am glad that my Church was represented in the offer. If this sort of thing were done more often it would mean a lot to industry and it certainly would encourage labor."

Mr. Budenz, who expressed his decided belief in the Christian basis for activity on the part of the Church in industrial matters, said "The Church may not have authority to dictate how industry should be run, but it is its duty to instruct in the Christian way in all matters." As an indication of the due regard of the leaders of the strike for the religious convictions of the strikers he asserted that all strike activities had been declared off during Holy Week.

When asked his opinion of the local clergy's part in the hosiery dispute, and the general relation of Church to industry, the general manager[5] of the Company thought quite differently from the labor leaders. "The ministers that offered to mediate were dupes of the strike leaders," he said: "It is a regular stunt for the unions to get the Churches to back them, but the parsons are never able to see it. The Church doesn't know anything about industrial problems; the parsons don't know what it is all about, and they can't do anything. Every time they interfere they make fools of themselves. There's this to be

[5] An Episcopalian.

said of Rev. Martin though. If it hadn't been for him the letter the ministers sent would have been much more radical. There's nothing to mediate, and the strike hasn't got a chance to win. We refuse to have a union here, and that is all there is to it. If other concerns want to recognize the union, that's their business. We trained these boys and girls to knit, but they have forgotten their debt. We will fight outsiders who come in to agitate. It might be all right for the Churches to say something in a situation where the workers had bad conditions and where the wages are low. That is not the case in our Company."

The Rev. Mr. Martin's comment on the offer of mediation was to regret that it had fallen through. He said that he was the one who had largely composed the letter that was sent to both the Company and the union and that every effort was made to offer an impartial service. "I don't see how the ministers can do anything more in the matter. Our offer was refused and it doesn't seem to me that the ministers of Kenosha can offer anything but an impartial service. The Church should not take sides in industrial problems, unless it is convinced that one side or the other is in the wrong. In this case, it would appear that mistakes have been made on both sides. The Church should, in my opinion, reprehend morally wrong conditions in industry when they exist, without regard as to whether it strikes capital or labor. Individual ministers can do little in situations that exist as they do here. I treat all men in the same way, regardless of their wealth or poverty. St. Matthew's is a very democratic parish. We have no record of the occupations of our parishioners, and I don't see that a priest needs to know what kind of work his people do, since his

is primarily a spiritual interest and has nothing to do with how his people earn their living." [6]

There is no men's class or group of any kind in St. Matthew's parish, which might deal with the industrial question in its relation to Christianity. Furthermore, as has been pointed out, the men in the parish are not grouped *industrially* so that they might be brought together by a common interest. They are divided about evenly into employer and worked classes. Twelve of the eighty-nine workers are union members, and the largest industrial group consists of only eleven men who work in the local Simmons Bed plant at diversified occupations.

The Rev. Mr. Martin came to Kenosha in November 1927, and in the short time since then there has been little opportunity to organize many of the parish activities which he feels are needed. The strike at the hosiery mill began before he had a chance to meet personally those of his parishioners who are involved, except the strikers who sing in the choir.

"I really know little or nothing about industrial problems or the labor movement," said Mr. Martin. "I usually preach a special sermon of some kind on Labor Sunday, pointing out the 'dignity of labor.' But there is no close contact between St. Matthew's and industry or workers in the community. When I was a rector of a Church in New Jersey during the World War we turned over our parish-house to the medical corps when a munition plant blew up.

"So far as I can see there is nothing better than capitalism, and that is why I am rather suspicious of labor

[6] The parish file contains a card for every member on which is noted many particulars about the life and relationship of the individual. There is no word as to his or her daily occupation whereby he or she earns his daily bread.

activities. Most certainly I believe that workmen have the right to organize into unions, but I do not believe in the closed union shop. If a man does not want to join the union he ought not to have to, and the same with employers. Both groups should be allowed to organize if they want, or to stay out. The Church cannot advise either course. Our main job is spiritual. We must prepare men for the Kingdom of Heaven, and there will never be any real correction of this world's evils until the spirit of Christ is planted in men's hearts."

The rector graduated from the Seabury Divinity School and then took a post-graduate course at the General Seminary in New York City. As an undergraduate in Wisconsin University he studied sociology under Professor E. A. Ross,[7] but he had no course in social problems in either of the seminaries he attended. "I think I can sympathize with the working man," Mr. Martin declares, "and I am not unaware of his problems. I earned my way through college by doing odd jobs, and so I know what it is to work even though I have never been in industry. I am glad the Church is making a study into industrial relations."

The set of conditions in Kenosha for establishing a contact and inter-influence between Church and industry, is not of the most favorable nature. Half of the men in the parish are business officials from fairly representative commercial and industrial enterprises, and provide an average channel for working through employers. But the workmen group is entirely inadequate for joint or concerted effort, except in so far as they might be brought

[7] During the Allen-A strike Professor Ross's class in economics came to Kenosha from Madison, and paraded banners before the mill gates, exhorting the workers to remain true to the union and to fight against the unfair use of injunctions.

together in a religious society of one kind or another. Unfortunately, in this case, there is no class or organization of any kind for the men of the parish. Where there are trade unions the Church is often better able to relate itself more easily to the workers' problems, but Kenosha is, with the exception of a few of the skilled trades, an open-shop and non-union town. In the parish itself the union workers are outnumbered six to one, so that there is no representation of workers' interests to coalesce or overlap a representation of Church and religious interests.

Most certainly it would seem that in a community so thoroughly industrial as Kenosha, there should be some means whereby the Church, as a representative of her people's interests, could relate her ideal and her interests to the industrial situation. In such a city the necessity for it would seem inevitable, as in the case of the Allen-A strike. In the opinion of the workers, the part played by the ministers was right and proper, though only a half-measure. The employers implied a denial of this right in their answer to the offer of service. Had there been some already established machinery by which the clergy could have proceeded they might not have been given such short shrift in the matter. Had they the right to offer to aid in settling the dispute? Does a priest need to know what kind of work his people do? Because his interest is primarily spiritual, is it true that he has nothing to do with how his people earn their living? As a practical detail, should the parish record note what kind of work fills up the days of each Church member?

Should the Church be absolutely non-partisan in disputes involving human values and relationships? Are ministers of the Church "dupes of the strike leaders" when they accept the challenge of a strike which affects

the corporate life of their parishioners? Is the primarily industrial action of the trade unions complementary to the primarily spiritual action of the Church?

If Kenosha has no great value as illustrating a related Church and industry, it has at least a value in pointing a host of such questions which confront the Church wherever industry has drawn in Churchmen, to demand their services and their thoughts.

CHAPTER XII

MONONGAHELA, PENNSYLVANIA [1]

IN WASHINGTON COUNTY a few miles south of Pittsburgh is the little coal city of Monongahela. The town's population, which goes up and down with the rise and fall of prosperity and employment in the bituminous industry, has been increased recently by the influx of strike-breakers since the walk-out of the union miners on April 1, 1927, and is now estimated to be about 8000. In addition to coal mining, which is by far the most important industry in the community, there are three manufacturing plants, the Liggett Spring and Axle Company, the Coshocton Iron Works, and a wire mill of the U. S. Steel Corporation. Grouped around Monongahela are a dozen or so small mining villages, each consisting of a mine or two and a cluster of company houses, the whole group making up sub-district No. 3 of District No. 5, United Mine Workers of America. Those of the miners who do not live at the mine in which they work go back and forth from Monongahela every day. Most of the shopping done by miners outside of the company stores is done in town. Little cash trading, however, has been done with the miners during the long strike period and Monongahela merchants are feeling

[1] Study made in March 1928.

the severe pressure of lost buying power by their largest number of customers.

Without attempting to analyse here the present situation in the bituminous fields or to discuss the merits of the case, operators versus miners, it is necessary to say that the operators of the coal mines of Pennsylvania were finding increasing difficulty to maintain the wage scale demanded by an agreement and were threatening to abrogate it.

The very first rebellion of the Pennsylvania operators affected Monongahela mines, when the Pittsburgh Coal Company abrogated its Jacksonville agreement in the fall of 1925, and started operations on a non-union basis with a cut of over one-third in its wage scale. Other companies joined in the repudiation, thus locking out their miners, and Washington County was soon the scene of restlessness and unemployment, which increased as more mines weakened and broke their contracts. On April 1, 1927 the agreement expired and the union as a whole went on a strike. The operators refused to continue paying the Jacksonville scale, pleading their inability to compete with the non-union mines in the South; the union refused to accept a wage reduction, on the ground that they were already getting far less than a living wage and to accept another cut would be suicidal. Lowering wages would not solve the coal industry's difficulties, they maintained. "Better to starve at your own leisure than to starve pullin' coal all day," as one mule-driver put it. It was a dead-lock.

The Pittsburgh Coal Company led the way in the Monongahela district by bringing in strike-breakers (mostly Negroes) to take the places of the strikers. The other companies followed suit and by the spring of 1927,

Washington County environed several thousand strike-breakers side by side with the men whose jobs they were filling. It was a situation which lent itself easily to serious friction, in no way relieved by the dislike and aversion for the strike-breakers that was felt by the general public of the locality. The effect of the strike-breakers' presence on the moral and spiritual life of the coal communities was such as to call forth indignation among the citizens, and a defensive reaction among the residents of the community that led to a very definite caste demarcation. Even children refused to attend school with the sons and daughters of strike-breakers, merchants discriminated against them, and the inflammatory word "scab" — though defined in the dictionary in the sense used by strikers — had to be forbidden by the police to prevent its use wherever and whenever members of the two camps met.

The suffering and distress which began to make itself felt throughout the coal-fields soon made its appearance in Monongahela. The small savings of the miners were used up before the strike had got well under way, and they became dependent on "strike-pay" from the union and help from the various relief organizations. The slump in the coal industry greatly affected the retail business in coal communities, so that banks in Monongahela became cautious and stopped lending money to miners or to merchants whose chief trade was among the miners.

Feeling about the strike, already high, was intensified. The people of the community had the hard facts of the situation constantly before their eyes, and everybody had an opinion. Most of them were in sympathy with the union, although there were enough favoring the coal operators to keep debate alive, and strike news and editorials

pro and *con* filled the local newspapers. On August 26, 1927, the following resolution was drawn up and signed before a notary public by sixty-three local business men, farmers, merchants, and professional men:

RESOLUTION

Monongahela, Pa.
August 26, 1927

We, the citizens of Monongahela City, Washington County, Pa., beg to submit the following resolution to the Governor, John S. Fisher.

GREETINGS:

Whereas For the past two years the Pittsburgh Coal Company and Bethlehem Mining Corporation with many other coal companies openly repudiated its agreement with the United Mine workers of America in the Pittsburgh District, and

Whereas The Pittsburgh Coal Company and the Bethlehem Mining Corporation in the Ellsworth Branch have imported men of all descriptions of which many are of desperate character. Many of our citizens have been beat up on the Public Highways by the private guards, and

Whereas The enforcement of the Sheriff's Proclamation is unfair, unjust, and un-American and being enforced without any reasonable cause, depriving the law-abiding citizens both union miners and business men of Washington County of their constitutional rights and protecting those who are defying the law to serve their own selfish motives, therefore be it

Resolved We, the business men of Monongahela City, Washington County, Pa., do hereby appeal to Governor John S. Fisher to assist us with powers given unto him to oust this lawlessness from our community which is dangerous to the peace and safety of our citizens, and is detrimental to the farmers, professional and business men of this community, and be it further

Resolved That a copy of this resolution be immediately telegraphed to Governor Fisher and published in the newspapers.

Respectfully submitted and signed by the Citizens of Monongahela City, Pa.

This resolution reflects the general opinion of the community, with regard to the strike-breakers particularly.

Three of those who signed the resolution are members of St. Paul's parish in Monongahela, in charge of the Rev. William Fargo Bayle and under the authority of the Missionary Board of the Diocese of Pittsburgh. In the parish are 315 baptized persons, of whom 190 are communicants. The occupations represented in St. Paul's congregation are, in the majority, wage jobs of one kind or another. Though there are several people in the parish who do clerical and office work, and a few who are employers of labor, the parish may safely be said to consist of working people. This would certainly be so if St. Paul's were to be compared to many Episcopal parishes in urban communities, since in Monongahela the "white-collar" element is small and distributed in the various Churches of the town.

There are only five miners in the Church, but about thirty members of the parish are dependent on miners' wages for support. This may seem like a very small number when the main occupation for Monongahela workers is in the mines, but as a matter of fact it is not. Only in rare cases in the eastern coal-fields are there very many miners in Episcopal groups. In western Pennsylvania most of the miners are Slavs, Latins, Irish, and Negroes, and therefore those who go to church at all (and a large part of them do not) are members of the Eastern Orthodox, Roman Catholic, and colored Baptist and Methodist Churches. The Presbyterian Church, which is the largest in the town, has no greater proportion of miners than St. Paul's, which is in the list of small Churches. There are twelve Protestant denominations represented in Monongahela, and two Roman Catholic Churches with

a membership of 2500. These two Churches have more miners than any of the others; 40 per cent of the people in the Roman Catholic Church of the Transfiguration are miners or miners' dependents. However, everybody in a coal town is affected by mining conditions, whether they are themselves working in the mines, or whether they are working in stores and food produce concerns, garages, amusement houses, brokerage offices, or any of the many occupations in a city which is built up on the sub-structure of a great industry.

The vestry of St. Paul's is composed of seven members, five of whom are employers, though not in the coal business. The senior warden, a prominent real estate broker in Monongahela, is the only member of the vestry who is opposed to the union and to the strike, and when interviewed declared that the Church had no concern in the situation, directly or indirectly, and had best keep out. The six other vestrymen are sympathetic with the union and its efforts, and feel that the Church should make an effort to bring about a solution of the problem.

Two of the vestry are workers. The junior warden is an ex-pit boss in the mines and now a mill watchman, and the other is janitor of the Church and parish-house. The janitor was once employed on the Pennsylvania Railroad, but seventeen years ago he went out on strike and took such an active part that he was never able to get his job back. His sentiments are most definitely pro-union.

The junior warden of the parish is an Englishman who came to this country more than thirty years ago. He first "entered the pit" when he was twelve years old, and has been a miner until recently, when he began work as a watchman in a steel mill. A capable man, and well informed despite his lack of formal schooling, he was

made a pit-boss several years ago and held that position until the present strike, when he left the mines with the union men, thus sacrificing a responsible position for his principles. This act is significant of the spirit of idealism which dominates many rank-and-file workers, though such sacrifice and group-consciousness is more common perhaps among the militant mine workers than among most other industrial workers. Being a pit-boss he had to give up his union membership (which he did with the sympathy of his fellow miners), but when wage cuts were started, as he said, agreements "treated like a scrap of paper," then he struck, too.

Asked what he thought should be the relation of the Church to industrial problems, he said without the least hesitation that "the Church should endorse the labor unions. I have been faithful to the Church all my life, and I have tried to be a Christian. The Master's word is law with me, and I tell you frankly, I would rather see my son dead than see him be a non-union man! The Bible says we will always have the poor with us. Well, maybe so, but that is no excuse for not trying to better their condition. Bill Kennedy, in our parish here, struck with the others, and didn't get even a day's work for three months. Finally, when he got work on the city's new pipe line, he turned his first pay of twenty-five dollars over to his wife, and she gave twenty of it to pay their Church dues which had fallen in arrears. The Church should see that such people are protected." [2]

In further conversation the junior warden contended

[2] Devotion such as Mrs. Kennedy's to her Church obligations is highly commendable, yet, in the circumstances in which her family found itself, it may be reasonably doubted if her action was quite wise or if the Church should expect support of its people who are unable to meet the ordinary expenses of living.

that the principles of Christianity make it the moral and logical duty of the Church to endorse and support the fight of the unions against a "reduction of wages, which means a reduction of the standard of living," and against "the scum element brought into the community as strike-breakers." In common with all classes of people who actually live in coal towns, he shares a decided dislike for strike-breaking miners, which is born of years of bitter experience. Over and beyond their influence on trade life in the community, on wages, hours, and bargaining power, they are roundly denounced on all sides for their lack of moral and spiritual standards. An interesting statement of the part played by strike-breakers, from the point of view of Church interests, was made by two Roman Catholic priests to the Senate Committee which investigated the soft-coal strike situation in March, 1928. Their main contention was for the union as a material necessity to spiritual ends and against the strike-breakers as a menace to moral standards in the community.[3]

Convinced as he is that the duty of the Church is clear enough so far as the workers' welfare in industry is concerned, the junior warden of St. Paul's nevertheless is aware of difficulties. He makes the interesting observation: "I realize that the Church is bound to its principles, too. Caught between the devil and the deep, blue sea." As practical measures for the Church to adopt in circumstances similar to Monongahela's, he suggests that the rector might preach and teach on the situation in terms of Christian faith and commandments, hold special Labor Day services, and turn discussion in the Men's

[3] Report of the Sub-committee of the Committee on Inter-state Commerce, pursuant to S. Res. 105. The statements of these priests were emphatically endorsed by clergymen of many denominations in subsequent hearings at Washington and elsewhere.

Bible class to industrial problems in the light of Christianity. This was done on one occasion before April 1st, and following is the notice sent out to members before the meeting:

DON'T FORGET

THE REGULAR MEETING OF THE MEN'S CLUB

OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH

MONDAY NIGHT, MARCH 26, 1928

ST. PAUL'S PARISH HOUSE

7:30 P.M.

A free discussion for forty-five minutes of the Industrial Situation and the Mine Strike. This can be very interesting with your help.

Refreshments will be served by the Social Committee; S. P. Yohe; James Anders and Dr. McIlvaine.

Come on and have a good time with us,

ROBERT S. LAX, *President.*
MORTON B. COLLINS, *Vice-president.*
JOHN GREEDON, *Treasurer.*

THE attendance at this meeting was good, and though no resolutions were passed or manifestos issued, the problem was discussed in the light of Christian principle, and the members of the parish profited accordingly.

The problem of providing the necessary relief for the strikers was a serious one, and before many months became practically impossible. The wages of the miners were not sufficient to allow any considerable savings before the strike. A study of credit facilities in twenty-two mining towns in 1927 revealed that "practically no bank was taking coal paper," that miners' savings had been withdrawn steadily during the last five years, and that the

depression in the coal business had seriously affected the retail business.[4] Relief money, or "strike benefits" had been doled out by the United Mine Workers' Union all along, but the most the union could do was extremely inadequate in meeting the absolute needs of the 20,000 strikers in the Pittsburgh district alone, and their 80,000 dependents. Large sums of money had been expended to build barracks for the evicted families, and what resources remained in February 1928, had to be husbanded carefully and portioned out to meet the full area and duration of the strike. Even by that time the strike benefits were as low as $1 or $2 per adult per week, and 40 cents to 50 cents per child, distributed in the form of supplies and not in money.

To meet this situation Local Union No. 280, of Monongahela, organized a local relief and solicited funds from the business men of the community. One of the first steps taken to get the movement under way was an invitation to the Rev. Mr. Bayle of St. Paul's, and to Fr. Kittrick of the local Roman Catholic Church, to act on the advisory board. It was a mark of the respect in which these two clergymen are held by the workers of their community, and they accepted gladly. The entire finances received and dispensed by the local union have passed through their hands subject to their veto or approval.

After considerable negotiations, delayed and timid because of the city government's fear of commitment to one side or the other, the miners succeeded in getting the use of a room in the City Hall for their relief headquarters. Unfortunately, the committee had hardly taken possession when it was required to leave, the Mayor and City

[4] "The Coal Strike in Western Pennsylvania," Federal Council of Churches, from C. Reitell. "Shift in Soft Coal Shipments," p. 25.

Council offering as an explanation of the eviction that the rooms needed painting and that too many muddy feet were tracking through the hall. On the street and with no place to turn, the relief work was forced to a halt. It was a critical moment, and the Church came forward to meet it in the person of the Rev. Mr. Bayle, who offered the hospitality of his parish-house. (This offer was made spontaneously, before Mr. Bayle had had an opportunity to consult with his vestry, but when that body met a few days later his action was approved.) The committee accepted with gratitude, and St. Paul's became the centre of the strikers' relief activity, a port of help and salvation for many starving families.

The suffering and distress, untouched by the official and semi-official agencies in the union ranks, finally received so much public attention that a Clergyman's Relief Committee for Miners' Families was organized in Pittsburgh by the ministers of the city, among whom were Bishop Mann and several Episcopal clergymen.[5] Shortly thereafter a Business Men's Relief Committee was formed, and on the suggestion of Bishop Mann the two committees decided to operate together through a Joint Relief Administration. Trained social service workers were employed immediately to handle the field work, and relief headquarters were set up in several districts. When two social workers and a stenographer arrived in Monongahela to establish a field station, they found the local miners' relief already acting from their headquarters in St. Paul's parish house.

[5] Organized as the result of a plan put forward by the Social Service Commission of the Pittsburgh Council of Churches, in conference composed of representatives from the American Red Cross, Associated Charities, Conference of Catholic Charities, Jewish Family Welfare Association, and other social service organizations. The Red Cross later announced it could do nothing, since the strike was not an "act of God" or a natural calamity.

An arrangement was made whereby the Pittsburgh organization and the local committee would remain in existence, maintaining their separate identities, but placing all the programme of relief distribution into the hands of the trained workers. The parish-house continued to be their headquarters, with Mr. Bayle in constant attendance, giving advice and active co-operation, offering the services of his automobile, interviewing applicants for relief, making visits to families in distress, heartening the discouraged and desperate.

Before he came to the parish in Monongahela Mr. Bayle's general reaction to industrial problems was pro-employer, he declared. This attitude was just a matter of course with him, regardless of where or what the point at issue might be. But after coming to the little coal town, in the midst of a situation which vitally affected his work and made him stop to think and ponder, his point of view had undergone a change. "Organized labor with intelligent leadership," he had come to believe, "is a benefit to civilization and a help to social advance. The more I work with them the more I think this community has been helped by the United Mine Workers, and I say this with the fact of the strike in mind." Mr. Bayle's interest in the political history of the United States, and his special knowledge of the subject in regard to Pennsylvania's past, led him to the belief that the unions have been instrumental in bringing about social measures that can only be rejoiced over by the Christian Church. He confidently pointed out child-labor laws, legislation governing the position of women in industry, workmen's compensation, industrial accident insurance, and similar achievements in the field of social policy, and declared them to be due more to the efforts of organized

labor than to any other group. "The Church," he said, "should endorse organized labor officially in General Convention, qualifying their action by Christian principles."

As to the strike, Mr. Bayle believed the union is justified in making a stand for the Jacksonville scale on the grounds that any lower scale means the utter ruin of a respectable standard of living for the miners. Speaking of wage agreements he said, "The worker has as much right to refuse a cut in wages as the employer has to make it, providing there is no agreement. In the case of an agreement both parties are morally bound to respect its terms. Those coal companies which abrogated their agreement with the union before the date of expiration committed a morally reprehensible act. Employers must respect the workers' right to a decent wage, and they have no right to cut wages to increase dividends beyond a fair return on the investment. A fair return is six per cent."

After several months of daily experience with strike-breakers Mr. Bayle felt quite strongly on the subject. In no uncertain terms he expressed his conviction that strike-breakers are a detriment to any community, and suggested that the reason for their low moral character "is simply that they are strike-breakers. Some of them here are good men whom I pity, men who have gone back into the mines because they could no longer hold out and do their duty to the family dependent upon them. But where you have strike-breakers brought in wholesale, as in this situation, they are generally men of the type who feel no responsibility for other workers and are always willing to take another man's job away from him if they can. Being shiftless and mean, they are usually low characters morally. It will take ten years to get rid of the

disease and scum element brought into this community by the strike-breakers. It takes a 'scab' ten years to live down his reputation, if he has the courage to remain in the community after the strike has been settled."

Though St. Paul's parish had acted as a refuge to workers in distress, and had held a discussion of the strike situation under its auspices, there had never been a Labor Sunday service or other special service for workers. Mr. Bayle doubted that such a manœuvre would be politic. In fact, he was sure that a special religious service for workers in a militant situation like the Pittsburgh area would not be approved. Caution always conditions the thinking of any institution in such times, so that there may be reason for Mr. Bayle's doubts.[6] It is certainly true that St. Paul's is a missionary parish, and that the Missionary Board of the diocese is composed of business men whose financial interests are bound up in coal and closely related industries, such as coke, steel, and railroads, and who would feel that it was inexpedient to devote the Church to one party in such an issue.

On the Missionary Board with these laymen are three clergymen, one of whom, Dr. Percy C. Kammerer of Trinity Church, Pittsburgh, is keenly interested in the strike and has brought together a committee of liberal persons to interest itself in alleged violation of civil liberties in the coal-fields. The other clergy members have not taken any part in the strike or its related problems.

The Monongahela Ministerial Association had given no consideration to human problems involved in the coal industry or the strike, unless it had been done in confidence. "They may have spoken of it on the street corner

[6] Whatever attitude the Board may have taken if such a service had been held, it has since showed its confidence in Mr. Bayle's other acts in the strike by appointing him General Missionary of the diocese.

to a friend," said Mr. Bayle, "but they have never mentioned it in the meetings as a problem facing Christian ministers who are concerned with the moral and spiritual welfare of the people it affects." However, when the miners of Monongahela organized their local strike relief committee, an official of the local union body called on each minister and asked him to make from his pulpit an appeal for support for the relief work. Their response, which was immediate, was their only contribution to the work. Mr. Bayle had attempted to persuade the local hospital in Monongahela to accept several cases, especially striking miners' children who were suffering from conditions heightened by exposure and under-nourishment, but had met with refusal. He then turned to the St. Margaret Memorial Hospital, Episcopal, in Pittsburgh and met with immediate sympathy and co-operation.

Little contact had been made by St. Paul's Church or any other denomination with the non-union men working in the mines. It has already been pointed out that many of the strike-breakers were of irreligious character and living in flagrant violation of Church standards. Those among them who may have desired to attend Church were held back by fear of scorn and ostracism or a natural determination not to mix with their union enemies. The few who were courageous enough to brave public opinion and appear in Church were not long in disappearing again. The ministers best acquainted with this group were the three negro clergymen in Monongahela. (More than half of the strike-breakers in Sub-district 3 were Negroes.)

In the local colored Baptist Church there were six miners, of whom one was a striker and five were strike-breakers; in the colored Methodist congregation there

were three strike-breakers and one striker. The ministers in charge of these congregations agreed heartily with testimony before the Senate investigation committee and with public opinion as to the "bad lot" character of the strike-breakers. Mr. Johnson, of the colored Methodist Church, had got permission from officials of the Pittsburgh Coal Company and held an out-of-doors revival service at the pit-mouth of Gallatin Mine, as the day shift came up in the evening. There was little or no response, according to Mr. Johnson, and no results whatever in the way of Church attendance, religious enthusiasm, or visible reform in their own ranks. "The first men to respond to a call for strike-breakers are usually a type that cannot be reached or influenced in any way by a religious appeal."

Mr. Reed, of the colored Baptist Church, who has permission to go on three company properties, claimed he has found unspeakable conditions in these places and the men quite unapproachable. Both Mr. Reed and Mr. Johnson declared that some companies in the vicinity of Monongahela permit and protect immoral conditions on company property, as an inducement to the strike-breakers. "Big business," said Mr. Johnson, "is unchristian, and it is the duty of the Church to encourage any attempts to better things in the light of the Christian religion." Labor unions, however, are not the best "attempt" in Mr. Johnson's way of looking at it. His experience, he maintains, would indicate that the policy of trade unions is as inimical to a Christian way of life as the business concerns with which they are continually warring.

The Roman Catholic Church in Monongahela has a larger proportion of miners in its membership than any

other religious body in the community. Out of some two hundred families there are forty entirely dependent upon miners, all of whom are union men. Occasionally a communicant from among the strike-breakers' ranks has appeared at a Church service, but not often. "A few have come," said the resident priest, "but those decent enough to come to Church were too decent to stay in the mines. My own personal opinion is that the unions should be encouraged. My opinion of 'scabs' had better be left unsaid, I think. I say these things as a matter of individual opinion, and not *ex cathedra* as a priest of the Church. The position of the Church, officially, should be neutral, since its work is properly spiritual. It cannot teach in industrial matters, except in so far as they affect moral questions."

The belief that the Church, as a Church, should not enter into industrial problems is shared by a representative of the mine superintendents in Monongahela. Mr. Barnhart, who was interviewed, is superintendent of Star Mine, operated by the National Mining Company (a subsidiary of the United States Steel Corporation). Star Mine closed down when the strike began, asserting that it could not continue the Jacksonville wage scale, and that it would not run on a non-union basis. "We are ready to start any time the men are willing to come back," said Mr. Barnhart, "but I don't like the idea of the churches preaching or teaching in industrial matters. They are out of their domain when they do so. In my experience churches always fail and lose face when they meddle in such things."

The Rt. Rev. Alexander Mann, Bishop of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, is of the same opinion. He praises Mr. Bayle for the work he has done in the miners' relief, and

feels it is unfortunate that other clergymen in the diocese have not had such close touch. "The thing Mr. Bayle is doing is humanitarian and therefore the work of the Church," but when the Church attempts to express an opinion on industrial problems it oversteps its authority, he believes.

Mr. Augustus K. Oliver, referred to by the striking miners of Monongahela as "the man who gives them relief with one hand while the other hand clips the coupons that put them in need of charity," is Chairman of the Business Men's Relief, a director of the Pittsburgh Coal Company, a member of the Board of Trustees of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, and a communicant of the Church of the Ascension in Pittsburgh. Asked why he helps those who are opposed to him in an industrial conflict, his answer was that "the relief work is a reply to an appeal to pure humanitarian considerations. It takes no sides, recognizes no controversy, and only considers the fact of need." The Church, according to Mr. Oliver, should stand in exactly the same relation to industrial problems. When there is suffering among industrial workers the Church is challenged, but the mere fact of a dispute over a "living wage" in no way concerns religious organizations. "If the Church denounces or criticizes a condition in industry as wrong it must have a remedy, and there are few men in the Church fitted to suggest a remedy."

To the complaint that certain trends in industry are cutting the pay-roll number, and at the same time maintaining the same level of production, Mr. Oliver answers, "If conditions are such as to bring down the cost of labor, the employer has a right to take advantage of them. The newspapers have exaggerated the fearful living conditions in the coal camps. The miners are no worse off

than they were ten years ago. Deploring the disastrous effects of environment on a man's spiritual and cultural life doesn't explain Andrew Carnegie, Abraham Lincoln, Edward Bok, and many others. The Church must take care not to overstep herself, as she will if she enters the industrial field. It may be all right for the Church to endorse such things as child-labor laws, but she should stop right there. That report of the churches on the steel strike [7] was a mistake, and they lost prestige among many of their members because of it. Industry is purely a case of supply and demand, markets, labor, and production costs, and so on. There are, of course, human values involved in any situation in which human beings are involved. But where the deterioration of those human values is due to economic processes (as, for instance, in the reduction in employment due to the substitution of machinery for man power) the working out of the consequent human problems, so far as any particular industry is concerned must be the responsibility of the practical men who control or are leaders in that industry, and not of the necessarily impractical Churchmen who, in the very nature of things, can offer as their contribution little but sympathy and a lively desire to be of assistance to fellowmen caught, for the time being, in the wheels of economic evolution."

As the result of a lengthy conversation with the author in which the relation of Church and industry was discussed largely in terms of the coal strike, Mr. Oliver concluded that "Perhaps, after all, human values are concerned in industry, and perhaps the Church is challenged. It may be that the Church should try to meet

[7] "The Steel Strike," Interchurch World Movement Report, Harcourt-Brace, 1919.

the challenge, if it is to live up to its principles and ideals. At any rate, I shall watch with interest all discussion of the question, at General Convention and elsewhere."

Monongahela, as one of the busiest of mine towns in the Pittsburgh district, presents a useful picture of the place of the Church in the environs of bituminous coal mining. It so happens that in Monongahela's case the local Church has taken an active and forthright part in the life of the strike and the people it vitally concerns, which sets it apart from all other parishes in the district. In all other respects, in the matter of membership, place in the community, opportunity, social influence, St. Paul's is much like other parishes in coal towns of a similar size.

As the result of a situation in which the community's main industry found itself unable, or believed itself unable, to pay a living wage to its workers, and determination on the worker's part to take no decrease, there arose a regime of poverty, hunger, suffering, violence, hate, and suspicion, and disorder in social rule and personal morality. The presence of the large numbers of outsiders and "renegades" who were acting as strike-breakers, and (in the opinion of the union miners) robbing others of their jobs and their children's bread and butter, created a condition of open and flaunted antagonism in the community and set up a rigidly and jealously guarded caste division. (A case is cited of a father, who had gone to work in a non-union mine, whose children refused to sit down at the same table with him.[8])

In this atmosphere the Church had to function, contending with seeds of spiritual and social decay. Its programme was hedged about and limited by strike condi-

[8] "Coal strike in Western Pennsylvania," pub. by Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, N. Y. C.

tions, material want, and an unchristian state of mind on all sides. These problems reveal their significance for the Church most clearly in their relation to the parish unit, and that the role played by St. Paul's in Monongahela holds a lesson cannot be doubted. The rector himself has expressed its meaning:

> Nobody has been bombed. Even the Church has realized that it was a good thing to do and that when all is said and done, suffering humanity is a problem for the Church. With all its woes and heartaches, the suffering, financial and otherwise, it has been a great opportunity for St. Paul's Church and the whole congregation, including the original skeptics, now proclaim it.
>
> Back of it all is the old struggle between the operator and the miner, the tradition of an age-old battle, a struggle for some of the finer things of life, better homes, cheaper living expenses and more advantages. The miner cannot see how he can get these things his children are taught about in school if his wages are reduced. Most of all, the sense of martyrdom stirs him. But now he knows that the Church, which in most cases he has looked upon as an agent and tool of the operator, can be his friend. The opportunity is present. Sympathy and friendship are vital parts of religion.

CHAPTER XIII

DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA[1]

"IF YOU are going to study the relations of the Episcopal Church to Southern labor and Southern industry, I am afraid you will find very little connection," said the author of a book on Southern labor, in conversation with a member of the Division of Industrial Relations. "Most of the workers are old-line Methodists and Baptists and most of the mill owners of the South are Baptists and Methodists." Such is the usual impression and in a general way it is true. That the numerical strength of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the South is less than some other religious bodies is quite evident, but nevertheless the Church has its place in all sections of American society, the "New South" included, and any attempt to examine into religion's share in the South's industrial reconstruction will necessarily be incomplete if the part played by Episcopalians is left unconsidered.

Among the more important industrial towns and cities of North Carolina, Durham holds a prominent position. It is the scene of the great textile manufacture, where ginghams, chambrays, cotton yarns, sheetings, tobacco bags, novelty clothes, pillow cases, seamless and half-hose,

[1] Study made in May 1928.

and full-fashioned hosiery are made. There are in Durham twelve hosiery mills, a mattress factory, and five cotton mills. The Episcopal Church is involved in this local industry in many different ways, through both employer and worker groups. Two officials in two of the hosiery mills, and the dominating officers and owners of four of the five cotton mills, are members of the local Episcopal congregation. From the employee angle as many as 80 per cent of the men in one Episcopal chapel are workers in these mills, besides a large number from the other Episcopal Church groups in the city. Thus we see a considerable relation between Church and industry in Durham, if only in the matter of points of contact through personnel. We shall soon see, however, that the relationship is much deeper and more vital than a mere overlapping of personnel.

St. Philip's is the main, uptown congregation. It is a normal and successful parish of 584 persons, with the usual educational and social activities. The Rev. S. S. Bost, the rector, has been in this parish for thirty years and holds the love and respect of the people; he knows each and every member of the parish and has baptized, confirmed, and married many of them. As one of his parishioners has put it, "Mr. Bost is thoroughly in the hearts and life of all of us. He knows all about us and our problems, and if ever we need his help or guidance he is always there to give it." St. Philip's, in contrast to the two chapel congregations to be described later, is distinctly a wealthy and middle-class group of people. Of 108 men in the parish only twenty-one are definitely in the worker group, as skilled or unskilled, and all the rest are business men, merchants, and professional people. The twenty-one include clerks, book-keepers and other

office employees, so that in the congregation there are really only sixteen wage workers in industry and the trades.

In order to learn just what the members of St. Philip's parish do to earn their daily bread, a survey of the occupations represented is here given.

The fact that there are only twenty-one workers, including white-collar employees, is a striking indication of the economic position of Durham Churchmen. Eighty-seven of the 108 members of the parish are non-manual workers, some of them being salaried or commission men in business, and the great majority are employers and professional people. There are in this group, fourteen physicians, five lawyers, four engineers, six merchants, two bankers, three insurance agents, six mill managers and foremen, four salesmen, one county official, one oil station manager, one certified accountant, one architect, one hotel manager, one paymaster, one newspaper reporter, one photographer, one clergyman for deaf mutes (whose work in Durham will be described later), and thirty-four company officials and employers of large numbers of workers.

Fourteen of the last-named group are management officials in the local industries and many of them own stock in their companies. Twenty are officials and large owners in various concerns. Though two of the largest tobacco manufacturing concerns in the world are located in Durham, Liggett-Myers and the American Tobacco Company, only two Episcopalians are involved, one being cashier of the American and the other office manager in the Liggett-Myers Company. The most important connexion between the Church and industry in Durham is with the textile manufacture. Eight of the thirty-four management officials and owners in the parish are in the Durham

textile mills, in various capacities, ranking from president down to superintendent, and some of them are involved in more than one concern. For example, Mr. W. A. Erwin, a prominent figure in parish and diocesan activities, is president of the Pearl Cotton Mills, capitalized at $437,500; president of the Durham Cotton Mfg. Co., capitalized at $900,000, and president of the Erwin Cotton Mills Co., capitalized at $9,000,000. Mr. Erwin's brother, J. Harper Erwin, is secretary-treasurer of the Pearl Cotton Mills, and treasurer of the Durham Cotton Mfg. Co.

The trades and occupations of the worker group in St. Philip's are soon told off. Few of them are members of labor unions, which may be understood when it is realized that the South has few unions of any great strength and a strong anti-union spirit rules among employers of labor. In Durham there is no organization at all among the textile workers, with the exception of a small number of full-fashioned hosiery knitters secretly affiliated with the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers. Practically the only union strength in Durham is among the building trades. In the following list of the workers in St. Philip's parish, those marked with (u) are members of labor unions, those marked with (o) are engaged in jobs for which there is no local organization, those marked with (n), non-union.

1 Seamless Hosiery Workers (o)
4 Clerks (o)
1 Tobacco Worker (o)
3 Printers (n)
1 Electrician (n)
1 Book-keeper (o)
1 Railroad Worker (u)
1 Highway Worker (n)
2 Police Officers (o)
1 R. R. Station Master (u)
1 Express Messenger (u)
2 Casual Workers (n)
1 Mail Carrier (u)

THUS, of the number of men workers in the parish, ten are engaged in occupations in which there is no labor

organization for them to join, seven are non-union or workmen who have not joined the local labor unions in which they are entitled to membership, and four are union workers.

Fifty-four of the 187 women in St. Philip's are engaged in some occupation outside the home and housekeeping. There are no labor unions for women workers in Durham. The various occupations represented among these women are as follows:

13 Teachers,
5 Hosiery Workers,
2 Boarding-house Keepers,
6 Secretaries and Stenographers,
10 Clerks,
7 Nurses,
1 Dressmaker

In addition to the Church work in the main parish of St. Philip's, there is a chapel in West Durham and one in East Durham, both under Mr. Bost's charge. East and West Durham are mill districts on either side of the city.

In St. Joseph's chapel, in West Durham, there are 239 persons registered, sixty-four women and fifty-four men. Forty-three of the men are employed in the Erwin Cotton Mills, and eighteen of the women.

The Erwin Cotton Mills dominate West Durham, and it was only just recently that the Company gave up its mill village authority and allowed the district to become incorporated into the city limits. Thirty-three of the St. Joseph's men employed in the Erwin mills are unranked workers, five are foremen, two are carpenters, one an electrician, and one a superintendent. Nine of the eighteen women in the Erwin mills are married and have

families, working during the day at machines and doing their household duties at night when they get home.

A list, which follows, of the occupations presented in St. Joseph's reveals that there is only one union man in the chapel congregation, that about three-fourths of the workers in the parish are employed in the Erwin Cotton Mills (about four-fifths of the men workers and one half of the women workers), and that only five out of fifty-four men, or about one-eleventh, are definitely not in the worker class. With the exception of one Post Office clerk, there are no organized workers in the list, which is as follows:

33 Cotton Mill Workers
2 Carpenters
2 Truck Drivers
1 Casual Worker
5 Foremen
1 Electrician
1 Efficiency Man
1 Clerk
1 Superintendent
1 Street-Car Conductor
1 Insurance Man
1 in the Navy
1 Furniture Merchant
1 Post Office Clerk
1 Real Estate Broker
1 Tobacco Worker

Among the women there are:

41 Housewives
18 Mill Workers (All in the Erwin mills) 9 married
1 Hosiery Worker
1 Clerk
1 Stenographer
1 Boarding-house Keeper

The chapel is a beautiful little building of grey stone, which stands within a stone's throw of the Erwin Cotton Mills buildings. The Church life in the chapel is made up of the usual activities, Sunday School classes, Women's Auxiliary, Young Peoples' Service League, and other social groups, in addition to the services of worship. A parish-house is now being erected in the rear of the chapel, in which social affairs may take place and Sunday

School classes meet. For years several Sunday School classes have been meeting in one of the out-buildings of the Erwin Cotton Mills.

An extraordinary feature of the Church work in St. Joseph's chapel, which is of vital importance to the relation between Church and industry, is the Bible Class. Though there are only 239 persons all told in the chapel, there are 194 members in the Bible Class. The teacher is the chief officer of the mills in which the people of the parish work, and 85 per cent of the members of the class are his employees. (About half of the Bible Class are members of the Baptist and other churches.) Besides the large Bible study work which Mr. Erwin carries on, he paid for the entire chapel building, and has endowed it with a permanent fund of $45,000.

St. Andrew's Chapel, in East Durham, has fifty-eight persons registered, numbering twelve men, twenty women and twenty-six children. In the opposite end of the city from St. Joseph's, but also in a mill district, the majority of the people in St. Andrew's are workers. Three-fourths of the men are wage workers, and eight of the twenty-two women, or more than one-third, are engaged in work outside the home. Two of these women are married, and among the "men" and "women" are included all workers, some of whom are only fifteen and sixteen years old. A list of the work represented in St. Andrew's is as follows:

MEN [2]

1 R. R. Worker
1 Barber (u)
1 Electrician (n)
1 Superintendent Hosiery Mill (a)
2 Cotton Mill Workers (o)
1 Post Office Employee (u)
1 Superintendent Cotton Mill (a)
1 Carpenter (n)
1 Butcher (o)
1 Mechanic (n)
1 Hosiery Knitter (u)

WOMEN [2]

14 Housewives	1 Stenographer
3 Cotton Mill Workers	1 Teacher
1 Hosiery Mill Worker	2 Clerks

We see that St. Andrew's membership is less than one-fourth the size of St. Joseph's, and that there is a wider variety of occupations or industries represented in the smaller group. Whereas in St. Joseph's three-fourths of the workers are employed in textiles, less than one-third of St. Andrew's are so employed. The other wage workers, in both cases, are scattered in various other trades. Four of the women workers of St. Andrew's are employed in textile mills, and two of them are married.

The hosiery mill superintendent listed above is at the North State Knitting Mills, Inc., capitalized at $500,000. This mill, which produces seamless half-hose and ladies' seamless cotton hose, is really Mill No. 10 of the Durham Hosiery Mills Company, the largest hosiery concern in the city. No Episcopalians are employed as workers in these mills. The cotton mill superintendent listed, however, is in the Durham Cotton Mfg. Co., in which two men and three women from St. Andrew's are employed as wage workers. The hosiery knitter listed is a member of the Durham branch of the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers. This union, which is the only textile workers' labor organization in the community is entirely *sub-rosa,* due to the fact that when the worker's affiliation is discovered by the company he is soon laid off, and usually discharged, "if he doesn't take the hint," as one member of the knitters' union put it. It only includes knitters, since expansion to include top-

[2] Symbols used in the same sense as before. (a) indicates well-known anti-union. There is no union of any kind for women workers in Durham.

pers and menders would be sure to destroy its secrecy, and the leaders feel that it is not yet strong enough to come out in the open.

Thus, of the men workers in St. Andrew's, there are three salaried persons, two of whom are anti-union mill officials, and nine wage workers, three of whom are union men, four non-union, two being engaged in industry where there is no local labor organization.

The parochial life of St. Andrew's is carried on largely through the Sunday School (which has sixty-eight members), a Woman's Auxiliary, and meetings for worship. During the year ending May 1927, there were seventy-five services held in St. Andrew's, as compared with 172 services in St. Joseph's. The Sunday School at St. Andrew's is superintended by a worker in the Durham Cotton Mfg. Co. Twelve of the pupils come from other Church bodies, as compared with a 50 per cent non-Churchman membership in the Bible Class at St. Joseph's.

These Durham mills from which Churchmen derive their living, either as owners or employees, are as fair in their labor policy as any in North Carolina, and the North Carolina mill worker is the best paid of the southern groups. The average wage paid in the whole cotton-goods industry for 1926, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics figures,[3] is $17.48; average for men $18.67, for women $15.89. The average full-time wage in North Carolina cotton mills, shown in a compilation of statistics for seven selected occupations (pick tenders, card tenders, and strippers, speed tenders, frame spinners, slasher tenders, loom fixers, and weavers), was $17.05, $14.90 in South Carolina, and highest of all states, $25.84 in New Hampshire. Of course, there is a considerable dif-

[3] Bulletin 439, "Handbook of Labor Statistics, 1924-26."

ference in the wages paid men and women doing the same work. Among speeder tenders in North Carolina, for example, women earn $16.77 for an average full-time week, whereas men earn $18.65. A lower wage for women is a constant factor in wage scales throughout the entire textile industry.

With the average wage of $13.63[4] paid the North Carolina cotton mill worker, it may seem rather hard to understand how he meets the cost of living. Quite simply, such a wage is not enough to keep a family, even in the South where the standard of living among industrial workers is considerably below wages for corresponding work in the North. To understand this state of affairs one must realize that the worker population of the South is only one, or at the most two generations removed from tenant-farming, when their income was even less than now. Families are moving into mill towns in great numbers as the industrial expansion continues, and the increase in their level of living is enough to keep most of them in the mills. It is comparatively rarely that workers leave the mill to go back to the farm.

The two large units of the Erwin Cotton Mills Company in West Durham, No. 1 and No. 4, embody an unusually close relationship between Church, industry, employer, and worker, and an opportunity for an even greater and more significant correlation of the two. In the first place, St. Joseph's Chapel stands almost in the shadow of the Erwin mill buildings, and 80 per cent of the men in the parish and 50 per cent of the women, spend fifty-six or more hours per week in the Erwin mills. Through the management group a connexion is formed

[4] "Wages and Hours of Labor Cotton Goods Manufacturing, 1910-26," Bulletin 446, U. S. Department of Labor.

by five mill foremen, a superintendent, and the manager, who is a vestryman of the main parish downtown. With the exception of the vice-president, the officers of the company belong to the Episcopal Church. An Episcopalian is president and assistant secretary and treasurer, and the secretary and treasurer is a vestryman of St. Philip's.

An estimate of wages paid in Durham industries is unchecked by statements from the companies themselves. Various surveys have been made from time to time by investigators and statisticians, but southern cotton mill-owners give no co-operation to any of them, except to occasional representatives of government statistical bureaus. This is a natural reticence due to several causes. The cotton industry is established on a highly competitive basis and each mill tries to keep its earnings and expenses secret from the others. On the one hand the southern mill-owner realizes that conditions in his industry are being regarded more and more with critical and disapproving attention; on the other hand, he has had many unpleasant experiences with over-zealous investigators, some of whom have been entirely dominated by the desire to reveal southern industry as inhuman and cut-throat. In some cases they have resorted to unjustifiable means to accomplish their end. When the secretary of the Erwin Mills was asked for a statement of earnings, wages, and hours worked, he explained his refusal of co-operation by a story of investigators' tactics. He knew of one man who secured, by a deception, certain pictures which were "cooked" and did not represent any actual condition. To the objection that without a statement from the company the workers' figures would go unchecked he made no answer. The Erwin Cotton Mills would not give out

any statements of fact other than the confidential reports they supplied to their banking houses. That ended the matter.

The average wage paid in the Erwin mills, according to an estimate given out through the Central Labor Union body of Durham, is $12.00 per week — the average wage for cotton workers in the city. This is higher than the estimated average in one or two of the other local mills. The workers themselves when questioned, gave varying figures which run from about $10.00 to $35.00. A slightly lower range of $7.00 to $25.00 is given in a study of conditions in Durham which appeared in the *American Federationist* of April 1928. There are always two serious difficulties in questioning workers, and in this situation a third difficulty enters in. Some workers will say they get less than they do in order to make a picture of hardship and suffering, and others will declare they get much more than they really do, in order to appear high-class and valuable workmen. Their statements, therefore, must always be accepted with a grain of salt, and in the light of common sense and general conditions. This tendency to color the story is not confined to the workers, by any means. Refusal on the employer's part to co-operate in getting facts is as serious a drawback as fibs from the bobbin boy, and inexcusable exaggeration and manipulation of figures is not at all uncommon in southern textile journals.

The third difficulty mentioned is fear. An outside investigator is often at a loss to understand why workers are so unwilling to talk. He may go the whole length of a mill village street, stopping to question eight or ten men or women, and yet fail to get a single direct answer. This evasiveness is due to a double fear. In the first

place, southern workers naturally distrust outsiders, and over and beyond that, many of them have learned by experience that it is not to their personal interest to "talk too much to snoopers."

The Erwin mills in West Durham are running only four days a week, most of the time. The plant is idle on Friday and Saturday. In normal times the working week in these mills is fifty hours. But with the loss of two days, or almost one-third of their earnings, these workers are seriously affected. A 30 per cent reduction in a $12.00 pay envelope would reduce it to a mighty meagre compensation for 40–45 hours' work. It is small wonder that so many girls fourteen or fifteen years old are tending machines. The father's earnings, and perhaps the mother's added, would have to be stretched most expertly to provide the average family with ordinary necessities! About one thousand are employed in these two units, and 35 per cent are women: about 20 per cent of the women are married, according to a rough estimate by the secretary-treasurer of the company.

Concerning wages paid and hours worked in the Erwin Cotton Mills, there are certain things to be taken into consideration from the point of view of the employers. From the manufacturing end, the dilemma most often referred to is overproduction, a quagmire that has developed largely from the furious production of textiles that had gone on during the war. And from the sales end of the industry we hear of the impossibility to sell the goods already produced, because of a glutted market and style changes which have so seriously affected the use of cotton goods. These things, in the eyes of many, only explain the situation and do not justify it. Nevertheless,

southern cotton mill owners are waking up to the need of curbing these ills. Mr. Walker D. Hines, in an address before the American Cotton Manufacturers Association meeting in Richmond, Va., May 17, 1928, said:

> I believe co-operative action on the part of the mills looking to the general education of the industry as to its problems and to the use of sound business methods by each is a definite and promising method which deserves all possible support.

Usually southern cotton mills maintain villages of company houses for their workers, under company authority. These mills controlled by Episcopalians are not exceptions to the general rule. The Erwin mill village, however, was incorporated into the city limits recently. Practically all of the 4000 mill employees, and their families live in the village, which is clustered near the mill buildings. The company houses are frame structures of four or five rooms, placed at even intervals along the unpaved streets. The monotony of the array is broken more by a change in the color of paint than by differences in architectural design, though differences are brought about by varying degrees of pride in appearances among the tenants.

Most of these houses rent for from $1.00 a week. None but mill workers or their dependents can live in them, and the rents are put at a low level. The Company claims that the use of company houses saves higher rents in landlord-owned houses, and therefore does much to equalize its employees' wages with the northern mill workers. This is true, and yet some might consider it of greater value to all concerned if the workers had more wages and the independence and self-reliance that goes with owning or renting their own home wheresoever they will. The charge of paternalism is a serious one, and substantiated by only a casual observa-

tion, but a practical consideration of existing circumstances tends to temper it. In most cases the transition from a tenant-farm to the mill village is definite gain. Also, the mill people are illiterate mountaineers and farmers with the usual individualistic attitude common to such people, and far from ready for any intelligent handling of the housing problem in an industrial community. Mr. Blanchard quotes Professor Josiah Morse of the University of the South as saying: "The Paternalism obtaining in the mill villages is merely a stage in industrial evolution, and under the circumstances, practically a necessity, however wrong it may be in theory." Mr. Blanchard goes on to say: "In evaluating the mill village it should be remembered that the mill owners and the mill workers are much more like a single family than any similar unit in the North. What would be considered pure hypocrisy in employers' paternalism in the North may be in the South a natural outgrowth of old habits. The rich of old Southern days were accustomed to 'looking out for' the poor. . . So the attitude of the Southern employer toward his help is often tinctured with a personal kindliness that breaks down class lines. Both workers and employers speak the same language, and are very proud of their 'Anglo-Saxon stock.' They are mutually suspicious of Yankees, Foreigners, and anybody who doesn't go to Sunday School." [5]

This kindly personal relationship is very much a part of the Erwin mills. It is a revelation to the visitor from northern factories to see the president walk about the grounds of his Durham plant, and hail any passing worker with a cheery "Good morning," using his or her first name, and ask after the family. Colored or white, man, woman, or child, it is the same. Though Mr. Erwin undoubtedly

[5] Pp. 50-51 "Labor in Southern Cotton Mills," Paul Blanchard.

has a greater personal interest in his working people than the average run of southern employers, yet it remains true that the difference between the attitude of northern and southern mill owners is most striking.

Near the mill is a large building, known as the "Erwin Auditorium," which the Company built for its employees. Though others in West Durham are permitted to make use of it, practically all those who do spend time at the auditorium are employees in the mill or their dependents. The facilities of the auditorium are much like those of similar company Y.M.C.A.'s or recreation clubs in some northern mills. There is a library, a reading-room, a swimming pool, and separate showers for men and boys, women and girls. A nominal charge of ten cents is made for soap and towel when the shower is used, and fifteen cents when the pool is used. The admission price to moving pictures, which are shown three or four nights each week, is twenty-five cents for adults and ten cents for children. There is a large auditorium, with a seating capacity of over one thousand, and an excellent stage, which may be converted into a gymnasium for classes and ball games. Among several other activities, there are courses in dramatics and scenery painting. The work at the Erwin auditorium is in charge of three trained directors employed by the Company.

There is a memorial hospital in West Durham built by a member of the Company, which takes care of illness among the workers. If they are able to pay for the attention they receive they are charged a nominal fee; if they are unable to pay, they are cared for at the hospital's own expense.

The social service work of the Erwin Company, which is due largely to the president's personal interest, is not

Playground, Durham Cotton Mill

Mill Village Houses

Textile Workers, Durham Cotton Mill

Mother and Daughters in Cotton Mill

at all unusual in the South, but there are many mill villages which have never done anything like so much for the employees. According to one survey made in 1923, there were 107 swimming pools; 2172 shower baths, 206 community houses, 124 nurseries and kindergartens, 665 churches, 39 Y.M.C.A.'s, 137 bowling alleys, 202 motion picture machines, 405 boarding-houses, 64 hospitals, etc.[6] Though there is a fair amount of such work going on in the South, yet it is comparatively small in extent when the total number of mills is taken into account.

The Durham Cotton Manufacturing Co., in East Durham, provides the second largest contact between the Church and industry. Mr. W. A. Erwin is president, and Mr. J. Harper Erwin, senior warden of St. Philip's Church, is the secretary-treasurer and general manager. The employers' policy of silence in the matter of investigations is rigidly observed at the Durham Cotton Mill, except with representatives of the U. S. Department of Labor and like authorities. The workers in the mill were questioned at odd times, in the company mill village and on the streets of the city. The representative of the Division of Industrial Relations was fortunate in being able to check the statements of workers (the Company, of course, would give out no figures), with information given him by a Department of Labor statistician who was going over the Company's wages report. Various wages were claimed by the workers questioned. The wages in the Durham Cotton Mill are considered very low by union statisticians. In a study of Durham mills made by an American Federation of Labor representative, the average wage paid in the Durham Cotton Mill was $10.00

[6] Quotes Cotton. January 1924, "Labor in Southern Cotton Mills," Blanchard, p. 52.

per week, or more than $7.00 less than the average wage paid in the whole industry. "This is a mistake," in the words of Mr. J. Harper Erwin who asserts that "the wages in the Durham mills are practically the same as the other mills in Durham." The workers' statements varied between $8.00 and $25.00. The matter of low wages in this case (lowest in Durham cotton mills according to the union's survey) is complicated by the short working week. The Durham cotton warehouses are piled ceiling high with unsold goods because the market for ginghams and chambrays, the mill's staple product, has fallen off quite badly. The mill works only four days a week, as in the case of the Erwin Cotton Mills Company. The government official, referred to above, found that weavers in the Durham Cotton Mill receive from $10.00 to $30.00 for the two-week period of eight days, or a weekly wage of $5.00 to $15.00 ! When the mill is operating full time weavers make on the average of $22.50 a week, according to Mr. Erwin. The hours of work are from 7:00 A.M. until 6:00 P.M. with forty-five minutes for lunch.

The company mill village in Durham is typical of the average. The houses are of the usual type of four- or five-roomed, one-story dwellings. The rent per week runs from $.85 to $2.00. All the company houses are equipped with electric lights, and water, with inside plumbing without charge. In the winter months the company buys carloads of coal and retails it to the workers at a minimum price. Fortunately for these people, cold weather lasts for only a short while and they do not need to buy as much coal as the northern workers.

Although there is a large recreation building such as that maintained in the Erwin mill village, the Durham

Cotton Mill has a playground and a frame building in which social parties may be held and in which gymnastics may be carried on. There is an outdoor swimming pool in the playground, as well as slides, swings, and see-saws. During the summer months when the weather permits the playground provides amusement for many of the Company's employees and their children.

There are other industries in which Durham Churchmen are involved as workers or employers, but only a few in each case. The two large cotton mill companies, the Erwin Cotton Mill Company and the Durham Cotton Mill Company, are the most significant and comprehensive points of contact, and it is to them, therefore, that especial attention has been directed. None of the others have so many connexions through personnel, nor do they provide as great an opportunity for mutual influence. For example, the Golden Belt Mfg. Company, which is a large hosiery concern capitalized at $1,500,000, is an important part of Durham's industry, but there are only two Episcopalians in its ranks. One, a member of St. Philip's, is secretary of the company and is said by a member of Durham's Central Labor Union body to be strongly opposed to unions. The other is the knitter who belongs to the *sub-rosa* local of the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers. But with so few Churchmen involved there is nothing like the personal relationship that exists in the case of the company already described.

Mr. J. Harper Erwin, general manager and secretary-treasurer of the Durham Cotton Mfg. Co., is senior warden of St. Philip's Church and, therefore, in a key position in the parish organization, so far as the question of parish policy is concerned. His opinion of the proper relation of

Church to industry, both in local situations and for the Church as a whole, is definite enough. "The Church," says this official, "should stay out of industrial matters. It is unable to know about such things and to meddle in them would only invite trouble. Bishop Cannon of the Methodist Church in Virginia made a statement some time ago about the hours and wages in the southern cotton mills, which did nothing but make a lot of trouble.[7] He didn't know what he was talking about, and that would usually be the case with the Church."

Besides industry in general, the general manager believes that labor organizations are particularly dangerous rocks on which the Church will be sure to break. "The Church," he maintains, "should have nothing to do with unions, which I feel are the trouble makers, and cheat instead of help the workers. There is no danger of a union here for the Durham Cotton Mfg. Co. treats its help justly and well and the management and employees are on the best of friendly terms. We try to make good, honest citizens of them, and the unions would ruin our work if they got in. Our warehouses are packed with unsold gingham and chambrays and our employees understand the unfortunate condition and do not complain when it is found necessary to curtail operations. As a matter of fact, we are only running now to provide work for our people. We cannot sell anything.

"As for myself, I sincerely believe it is a serious mistake for the Church to meddle with industries for they cannot better or change conditions that will inevitably prevail. By far the great majority of employers in my experience are good Christians and they try to run their business along Christian lines. . . We will not give any in-

[7] *Manufacturers' Record*, April 24-28, 1928.

vestigator an exact statement concerning our mill. It's nobody's business but our own."

Equally emphatic are the views of Mr. W. A. Erwin. In conversation with Mr. Erwin at West Durham, he expressed the opinion that "the church should not meddle in industrial affairs," but that "the mission of the church was to preach the gospel, instruct people in the word of God and teach them the blessing of true Christian lives."

Mr. Erwin for more than a third of a century has been deeply interested in Sunday School and the work of St. Joseph's Church at West Durham — a mission of St. Philip's Parish, whose rector, the Rev. Sidney S. Bost, for more than thirty years has earnestly labored to bless the people of this community through this church and Sunday School, and the same is largely responsible along with the church and Sunday School work of several local denominations, for the unusually high standards of morality and excellent citizenship found in the people of West Durham, who are self-respecting, industrious and happy, enjoying the confidence and esteem of their employers and all who know them.

The Mill's social service work, which has been described, is a subject close to Mr. Erwin's heart and he is exceedingly interested in the Erwin Cotton Mills Co. recreation work — the Mills having a beautiful park with children's playground, well equipped and under the care of a trained director. In conversation with the writer, Mr. Erwin discussed the details of the Erwin Mills recreation work and the excellent moral atmosphere and high personnel of the Mills' villages.

The social service work going on in Mr. Erwin's mills is not unique. Not only do many factories in the northern states carry on efforts in this direction, but nearer home

in the southern area, where attitudes and methods are inherited from the old slave-holder class, many of the principles of modern social work in industrial communities are being put into practice. Even so, in Mr. Erwin's case there is great sincerity and solicitude for his employees. Certainly his active interest in the chapel, and the size of his Bible Class, are not at all common among southern employers. In addition to parish interests Mr. Erwin is a diocesan figure, serves on the Finance Committee of the Diocese of North Carolina, is a trustee of a Church school for girls and has several times been elected lay delegate to the General Convention.

Mr. K. P. Lewis, who is Secretary and Treasurer of The Erwin Cotton Mills Company, on the Executive Council of the Diocese and a member of St. Philip's Parish, echoes the opinion of his fellow employers. "A 55-hour week is not too long," he maintains, "and I think the wages in our mills are as high as any mills in this section and all that conditions justify. Over-production has greatly damaged the Southern textile mills, just as it has the coal industry. I think it better for the mills to own their own villages, which gives the management a better chance to protect the community from people of low character and dissolute life. The employees of the Erwin Mills are excellent morally. If it were not for the cotton mills in the South most of the people working in them would be trying to eke out a miserable existence on tenant farms. The minimum working age in North Carolina is fourteen years and we live up to it to the letter and we have very few working for us below sixteen years. No child can work in our mills until he or she presents proper certificates from school authorities.

"When Bishop Cannon came out with his denunciation of the Southern textile mills he did not know what he was talking about. I am afraid that is usually the case when the Church interferes in industry. So far as unions are concerned, the workers in these mills can organize if they want to but we expect all employees of the Company to give good and efficient service. Union or no union, we could not now consider raising wages or shortening hours."

Bringing to a close a discussion of Christianity and industry, the Secretary said, "Undoubtedly there are some places where conditions in industry violate Christian principles but I do not see what the Church can do about it, and I think their intervention may bring a great deal of misunderstanding with unfortunate results."

During his thirty years of ministry in Durham, the Rev. Mr. Bost has had little or no contact with the workers, except in a personal, pastoral, and priestly way. In a community such as Durham, however, this does not necessarily indicate any lack of interest in labor. Practically the only organization among the workers is in the trades, and since there are few in his parish, except cotton mill workers for whom there is no union, Mr. Bost's separation from labor activities is thus easily understood. He has never had a Labor Day service for workers, though he has frequently preached special sermons on the Sunday before Labor Day. The parish-house at St. Philip's has never been used as a refuge or meeting place of workers, and the rector has never acted as arbitrator or liaison officer in any labor dispute. His contact with workers has always been on the personal basis of rector and parishioner. His closest personal relation, perhaps, is through

his brother, Mr. E. H. Bost, who is assistant manager of the Erwin mills at Erwin, North Carolina, and a lay reader there.

On the question of the unions and other matters relating to labor, Mr. Bost says: "I think the same privileges should be extended by the Church to both capital and labor. In my opinion the Church should not commit itself, either to unions or to employers' associations. The parish and the clergymen should be free to allow either group to meet in the parish-house or to extend an invitation to both. As a matter of fact, it is not in my power as a clergyman to decide who will use the parish-house and who will not. That is in the hands of the vestry, who are to take charge of the physical things of the parish. As the one being in charge of spiritual affairs I could invite the unions to a special service, and the vestry could not, legally, prevent it."

Mr. Bost summed up his stand in the matter by saying: "I am somewhat at a loss to see just what relation the Church has to organized labor, any more than it has to organized capital. Both workers and employers are members of the Church and should receive the same consideration. I have thought very much about this question, but I feel unable to speak as an expert about the problem of Church and industry."

The opinion of Mr. Alfred Hoffman, Southern representative of the full-fashioned hosiery workers' union, best represents the views of the organized labor group in Durham. So far as the local situation is concerned, Mr. Hoffman says that "Bost is fairly favorable to organized labor. He has never done anything exactly to show he favors it except in the movie case. A year or so ago the Central Labor Unions at Durham asked permission

to show their moving picture "Labor's Reward" at the City Auditorium. This picture is sent out from headquarters by the American Federation of Labor. Dr. J. M. Manning, Mayor of the city and a member of St. Philip's Parish, gave them permission to do so. Immediately after that the City Council refused to allow them permission to show the picture, their excuse being that the Auditorium was not safely equipped to show a movie. There was a fire-proof projection booth already in the Auditorium, and the picture had its own projection equipment. Manning continued to insist that the workers could show their picture in the Auditorium and had a right to do so, but he was unable to get it done over the head of the City Council. In this instance the Rev. Mr. Bost took Dr. Manning's side in the controversy. The picture was finally shown in the Orpheum Theatre, which is run by a New York man. A mass-meeting was held to protest the action of the City Council and to commend Dr. Manning's action. Since then many movies have been shown in the City Auditorium.

"As for my opinion of the relation between Church and industry I think it should be pretty much that of the Federal Council of Churches. The Churches should speak out and insist that labor get a square deal, and they should do all they can to prevent industrial oppression. I think the Churches should endorse organized labor, but they should not endorse open shops or company unions. I think every Church should have a department of industrial relations. The Church should realize that it is a religious organization and that owners are organized and, therefore, they should insist that workers too have the right to organize. I am a member of the Christian Church. We have a fine Sunday School class here in

Durham. Most all the members are union men and the minister of the local Christian Church is an out-and-out labor man. I have had very encouraging experiences with the Church in the past. In the Passaic strike the Catholic Church there turned over its clubhouse to the United Textile Workers, and all the clergy in Willimantic, Connecticut, helped us to fight conditions in the strike-breakers' camps there several years ago.

"I am very much in favor of these studies made by the Federal Council, such as the one made in Company Unionism in Indianapolis.

"The position of a minister in a community is highly respectable and he is respected and is generally considered an impartial person, and, therefore, his opinion carries a great deal of weight. When ministers will express themselves as favoring organized labor, that opinion carries a great deal of weight and does a great deal for organized labor. Justice is the ideal of the Church and it is the ideal of unionism and the two ought to get together on it."

The President of the Central Labor Union, Mr. John A. Peel, is less open in his thought on the matter. Quite briefly, he says, "I don't know much about the relation between the Church and industry. Never thought much about it. The union wants to get the right conditions for the working man and so I suppose the Church ought to support it. But it never does. Most of the Churches around here get all their money from the rich mill owners, and would not dare to be open and above board in their support of the unions."

A former high school principal, and an active member of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Mr. D. C. Parker, had most positive convictions

as to the ideal relation of Church to industry and labor. "Most surely the Church has relation to labor," he declared. "The Church began with a simple group of fishermen, and it is supposed to be working for the good of the people. Certainly non-union conditions in this country are usually not for the good of the people. Sometimes, though, the Church is unable to do anything for organized labor, because the rich man won't let it. As for the relation of the Episcopal Church here in Durham to organized labor, I don't know that I can say much. Of course, Mr. Erwin is the big figure here. His mill villages are better than most other companies', and the ones at Erwin are especially good. But he preaches baths, swimming pools, and that kind of thing and then won't pay a wage that is anything near even a living wage."

The darker side of the picture, so far as workers' interest in Church and labor is concerned, appears in the thought (or lack of thought) on the part of the unorganized mill workers. Several in West Durham were questioned about the relation of Church to industry, but apparently their religion and the social industrial life were completely divorced. They seemed utterly at a loss to see any connexion between the two. The few vague and indefinite replies that could be elicited seemed to indicate that they conceived of religion largely as a matter of personal morality. Religion to them seemed to be a thing having to do with individual salvation, which is attained to, or lost, quite independently of a man's work or working conditions. The Church for them seemed to consist largely of Bible reading and the old Protestant moral precepts, without any social interpretation.

Although they were not entirely satisfied with the conditions of their life, they had no idea of how to go about

changing them, or any apparent hope of getting them bettered. Church and religion seemed to have no significance for their homes and daily bread. This world, they seemed calmly to think, is "a vale of misery and tears" with no immediate prospects of a "garden of roses," and Christianity has to do with drinking corn whisky, lying, swearing, and adultery, but not with eating and sleeping, education and rest, and other things that were only meagrely to be had in their "end o' town."

Part III

IN CONCLUSION

CHAPTER XIV

IN CONCLUSION

AGAINST the background of a developing industrial civilization, first in England and then in the United States, the growth of the Christian Social Movement has been unfolded in this record as the effort of a group of courageous and far-seeing leaders of the Episcopal Church during the past hundred years to meet the insistent challenge of industrialism and re-interpret the rôle of the Church in the presence of this new order of society. It has been a gallant effort by a few devoted followers of the faith at the outset to re-orient the Church to the changes of a new world ! The measure of the achievement of these pioneers of the social gospel is contained in part in the pages of this volume. In part it is contained in the social momentum of the movement itself which cannot be assayed by any amount of painstaking research. But arising out of the efforts of these leaders from generation to generation to restate the social implications of the Christian faith, certain trends became evident which indicate the future direction of the Church's work in this field.

First and foremost is the change in attitude of the Church toward the social gospel. From a position of indifference, if not alien interest, to one of profound concern for the problems of social life is the clear trend of this historical account. Today, as a result of the activity

of these disciples of the Christian Social Movement, the challenge to the Church of industry has become an admitted fact; there is no turning back from this position. Furthermore it is the clear indication of these pages that it is no longer a question whether the Church will concern itself with industrialism. Industrialism has become the characteristic feature of our contemporary civilization and the Church if it is to function effectively in the modern world, must function in and through an industrial order of society.

The work of scholars in this field have effectively buttressed the soundness of this position as well as its historical justification. The distinguished English scholar and devout Churchman, Richard H. Tawney, in his recent volume "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism" asserts with great conviction that: "The criticism which dismisses the concern of Churches with economic relations and social organization as a modern innovation finds little support in past history. What requires explanation is not the view that these matters are part of the province of religion, but the view that they are not."

With even greater vigor the late Studdert Kennedy, prophet of the Industrial Christian Fellowship of England, and one of the most notable champions of the Christian Social Movement, in both the United States and England, states the challenge of modern society to the Church: "The Church of Christ has indeed come," said Studdert Kennedy, "to the point where she must choose and make up her mind as to whether she is going to accept or reject this gospel of the Kingdom. She must decide whether her purpose and duty is to rescue a certain number of individuals out of a lost and ruined world, and to bring them to such a pitch of personal piety that they

will be safe for the world to come — or whether it is her purpose and duty to claim the whole world for Christ; to enter bodily into the world of commerce, industry, education, and politics, and declare that there, as everywhere else, His Will must be done, and He must be acknowledged King. It is a tremendous choice; and upon the way in which it is made depend both the method and the message of salvation."

Thus the undeniable moral duty of the Church to concern itself with the problems of industrial life is the clearly defined trend and the focal point of this study.

In the second place there is the definite effort of these pioneers of the social gospel to draw close to workingmen, both individually and through their trade unions, in an effort to more clearly express the genuineness of the interest of the Church in the worker as the centre of the whole industrial process. Early in the history of C.A.I.L. in the United States, it was realized that what the Church could do for labor was dependent on the ability of labor in the Church to redirect the thinking of the Church on these great questions. For forty years there was not only recognition but close co-operative relationships between these leaders in the American Church and American labor. This relationship is an indivisible part of the past record. It is a record unique in the history of American Christianity; it is a heritage for the future. As the late Bishop Potter of New York, one of the great leaders of C.A.I.L. stated repeatedly in public: "It is because they (trade unions) have helped to teach this lesson of fellow service that modern civilization may well thank God — however impatient capitalists or the public may from time to time have been of them — for trade unions. As against sporadic, disorganized, intermittent, and indi-

vidualistic endeavors of the friends of labor seeking to promote fair dealing and to secure justice, the trade union movement has stood for that great principle which subordinates minor differences for the greater good of all. It has seized and, on the whole, ably utilized the vast force of organized and centralized authority; and it has helped other men to realise, whether their strength were capital or cleverness, that the organized working force of the country was something seriously to reckon with." Even the Lambeth Conference in 1920 could write into the pages of its report: "The purpose of the labor movement, at its best, is to secure fullness of life, the opportunity of a complete development of the manhood and womanhood for those who labor. It seeks to furnish a better world for people to live in. . . The labor movement can help the Church by bringing us into touch with activities, and increasing our discontent with pious aspiration, and assuredly the Church can help the labor movement by pointing the way to that spiritual power which can alone bring the law of righteousness and love into permanent action." The close contact of the Church with labor in two of the field studies of this report but adds further to the record of reciprocal service, and to the evident direction of our efforts.

With equal interest the trend of the Christian Social Movement is to draw closer to employers and leaders of industry, and to express through them as Churchmen the application of Christian principles to industry. The mutual responsibility of employer and employee alike to a new attitude toward industry as a great human service to the community finds its expression in the joint participation on Industrial Sundays, in conferences summoned under the auspices of the Church to consider questions of

industrial relations. The function of the Church is to minister and not to be ministered to — to encourage co-operation and mutual dealings. This positive responsibility has been most effectively expressed in the concern of the Church for the social gospel.

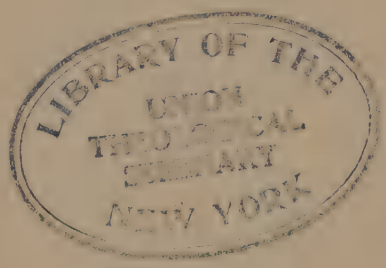
In the fourth place the increased place of research and education in the programme of the Church in articulating its interest in the problems of industry is the growing trend of past effort and the undeniable prophecy of the programme for the future. The establishment of permanent agencies of social and industrial research under the auspices of the Church has been the most effective demonstration of the importance of fact-finding as a basis for Church policy. The growth of the Church study class, the utilization of the forum, and the use of the pamphlet are all methods which have developed. All are means of gathering and presenting pertinent facts on industrial matters. Viewed in the large the Christian Social Movement has been a form of adult education movement whose vitality was derived from the earnestness of its exponents to demonstrate the principles and practices of the Christian Social Ethic. In this connection it is interesting to recall that the genesis of the adult education movement was itself distinctly religious and continues to preserve certain definite spiritual values. Maurice, the great interpreter of the Christian Social Movement in England, was likewise one of the great forerunners of adult education in that country. Without a programme of adult education the concept of the social gospel would have been the longing of a few, and never the expressed concern of the whole body of the Church. For the struggle of the Christian Social Movement in its early days was not so much against a denial of the Christian basis of the social

order as the more subtle denial of the area in which religion was supposed to have any application.

Through every page of this record there is the recurrent need of the Church for a Christian Sociology, sometimes expressed, but more often implied. Once admit that the challenge of industrial life to the Church exists, then the task of the Church to formulate its own social ethic is at once an imperative. All other things become of lesser importance and but means to the achievement of this positive task. Each leader of the Church from the days of Maurice and Kingsley in England to Potter, Huntington and Bliss in this country have been preparing the substance of such a Christian sociology. The Lambeth Conference has formulated the underlying principles of such a sociology in its notable discussion on the Social Task of the Churches; priests and laymen have been carrying into practice the Christian Social Ethic in their daily relationships which it will be the purpose of another volume to chronicle. For the Church to formulate, to clarify and to present such a Christian sociology becomes thus the major positive implication of these pages.

The diverse economic and industrial problems raised by our Industrial Society provide finally the new testing ground of the Christian faith; they call for a new and enlarged conception of the Church's duty. Side by side with the question of Missions, Religious Education and the Works of Mercy, one must put these questions of Social Justice as of equal need and of over-shadowing importance at present. "Let no man say unchallenged, and men of weight have said it, publicly during these last months — that industrial problems can safely be left to the expert and to the play of economic forces," wrote the late Archbishop of Canterbury shortly after the General

Strike in Great Britain in May 1926. Upon these developing economic forces the Church has the authority of its gospel to act; it has a past record of notable pioneering by a group of its leaders to give validity to such action. From this point of vantage the Church as a whole must move forward — forward in that great adventure for the Kingdom of God.


LIBRARY OF THE
UNION
THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY
NEW YORK

Appendices

APPENDIX A

WHO'S WHO

"Who's Who in America" publishes the names and attainments of nearly 27,000 men (including some women) who have attained such prominence in different parts of the country as to give them a place in the book. "Who's Who," therefore, gives a rough survey of a group of prominent Americans.

It seemed to the authors of this book to make an opportunity for an interesting study and particularly would show the proportional number of industrial leaders in the Episcopal Church.

The Table explains itself and shows many interesting facts. As for instance, in the Diocese of Chicago, there are fewer professional men, fewer lawyers, and the same number of bankers and capitalists as we find in the comparatively small Diocese of Connecticut. Chicago excels in its editors, publishers, and journalists.

"Professions" include so many callings as to necessitate an analysis. It is interesting to notice that there are many more outstanding educators who are Episcopalians than there are clergy. The Episcopal Church boasts 138 writers and one humorist. The authors refuse to divulge further information about the humorist, referring any interested reader to "Who's Who."

It seems unnecessary to burden the reader with further explanations. The Tables explain themselves and carry their own suggestions.

ANALYSIS OF "PROFESSIONS"

Educators	336	Librarians	29
Clergy	262	Politics	27
Medical	153	Government Positions	11
Writers	138	No Occupation: Leisure	6
Military	94	Actors	5
Scientists	84	Sculptors	3
Architects	45	Humorists	1
Painters	41		
Diplomats	39	Total	1305
Musicians	31		

Dioceses	Professions	Engineers	Railroads, Shipping and Transport	Public Utilities	Editors, Publishers and Journalists	Welfare	Civic and Industrial Relations	Coal and Iron	Textiles and Miscellaneous Manufacturing	Bankers and Capitalists	Lawyers	Real Estate and Merchants
Alabama	6	.....	1	1	2	.....	.....	1	3	2	2	.....
Albany	13	4	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	5	1	4	.....
Arkansas	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3	.....
Atlanta	8	1	1	1	3	1	.....	.....	.....	2	4	.....
Bethlehem	7	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	3	3	.....
California	36	3	.....	2	5	.....	2	.....	.....	7	8	1
Central New York	19	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	2	2	6	.....
Chicago	48	10	2	2	12	1	2	1	1	14	9	6
Colorado	5	3	2	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	5	10	1
Connecticut	50	.....	1	1	4	.....	1	.....	.....	14	9	1
Dallas	1	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
Delaware	2	2	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	6	.....
Duluth	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	2	.....	.....
East Carolina	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Easton	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Eau Claire	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Erie	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Florida	6	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	4	.....
Fond du Lac	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	.....

Georgia	2	1	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	
Harrisburg	3	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	1		
Indianapolis	9	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	
Iowa	10	1	1	.....	2	.....	1	.....	.....	5	4	
Kansas	6	.....	.....	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	1
Kentucky	5	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	2	1	1
Lexington	2	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	
Long Island	29	4	.....	.....	5	.....	2	.....	4	4	1	
Los Angeles	30	1	2	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	13	3	
Louisiana	12	1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	4	
Maine	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	
Marquette	1											
Maryland	44	4	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	12	2
Massachusetts	93	2	.....	4	15	1	3	.....	9	9	13	4
Michigan	32	4	2	2	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	7	1
Milwaukee	16	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	6	4	
Minnesota	21	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	4	
Mississippi	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	
Missouri	13	2	8	1	1	.....	2	.....	.....	1	5	1
Montana	4	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	1
Nebraska	8	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	
Newark	15	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	6	4	
New Hampshire	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	1	2	3	
New Jersey	26	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	7	
New York	206	31	12	6	51	7	10	2	6	84	57	6
North Carolina	15	2	1	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2	6	
North Indiana	3	1										
Ohio	24	1	.....	.....	3	.....	1	1	3	4	1	

Dioceses	Professions	Engineers	Railroads, Shipping and Transport	Public Utilities	Editors, Publishers and Journalists	Welfare	Civic and Industrial Relations	Coal and Iron	Textiles and Miscellaneous Manufacturing	Bankers and Capitalists	Lawyers	Real Estate and Merchants
Olympia	4	1	2	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	5	
Oregon	4	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	3	
Pennsylvania	70	6	6	1	5	.....	.....	3	1	7	6	2
Pittsburgh	10	2	1	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	1	6	1	
Quincy	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Rhode Island	13	.....	.....	2	2	.....	.....	.....	3	3	3	
Sacramento	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
South Carolina	11	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	3	
South Florida	4	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	
Southern Ohio	19	1	1	1	4	1	.....	.....	3	1	6	1
Southern Virginia	12	1	2	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	6	
Southwestern Virginia	12	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2	
Springfield	7	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	
Tennessee	19	1	.....	1	.....	.....	1	.....	3	5	5	1
Texas	10	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	1	4	1
Upper South Carolina	4	1	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	1	2	3	
Vermont	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	2	2	
Virginia	15	1	1	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	4	
Washington	118	16	1	.....	18	1	2	.....	.....	7	37	1
Western Mass	13	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	2		

Western Michigan	3										2	
West Missouri	1				1					3		
Western New York	20	1			2		1		1	5	9	
Western North Carolina	9	1			2					1		
West Texas	2									1	2	
West Virginia	2				2			2		1	2	
MISSIONARY DISTRICTS												
Arizona	2	2			1				1	4		
Eastern Oregon	1											
Idaho	2	1		1				1		1	2	
Nevada	1	1								1		
New Mexico	4			1	1						2	
North Dakota	2				1					1	3	
North Texas	1											
Oklahoma	3				2					3	6	
Salina	1										1	
San Joaquin	2											
South Dakota	8									2	7	1
Spokane	5	2			2					3		1
Utah	2	2			1			1				
Western Nebraska										1		
Wyoming	3									1	3	
Total	1305	136	55	35	185	21	33	16	55	313	355	34

APPENDIX B

RESOLUTIONS

Resolutions covering Industrial Relations, adopted in the General Convention.

SAN FRANCISCO, 1901

The House of Deputies informs the House of Bishops that it has adopted the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas The Church of Jesus Christ has been commissioned by her Lord to be the friend and counsellor of all sorts and conditions of men, rich and poor alike, without respect of persons; and

Whereas It is a part of her divine mission to be a mediator and peacemaker between those who are at strife one with another; and

Whereas The relations of labor and capital, which ought to be harmonious, are from time to time very seriously disturbed, to the prejudice of peace and good will among the people of the land, and often to the suffering of thousands of women and children, as well as to the sowing of bitterness and strife between brethren; and

Whereas The Christian Church would be untrue to her Master — the Carpenter of Nazareth — if she were not the friend of the laboring man, and did not hold his welfare as dear to her heart as that of his employer; therefore,

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That a Joint Commission of both Houses, to consist of three Bishops, three Presbyters, and three laymen be appointed (the Bishops in such manner as the House of Bishops shall determine, and the other members of the President of this House) as a Standing Commission upon the Relations of Capital and Labor and of employers and work-people, whose duty it shall be: First, to study carefully the aims and purposes of the labor organizations of our country; second, in particular to investigate the causes of industrial disturbances as these may arise; and third, to hold themselves in readiness to act as arbitrators, should their services be desired, between the men and their employers, with a view to bring about mutual conciliation and harmony in the spirit of the Prince of Peace.

Resolved That the said Commission shall make report of its proceedings to the General Convention.

Resolved That it is desirable that the above-named Commission should be continued by re-appointment every three years.

And has appointed as members of said Joint Commission on its part the Rev. Dr. McKim of Washington, the Rev. Dr. Hodges of Massa-

chusetts, the Rev. Dr. Williams of Ohio, Mr. Seth Low of New York, Mr. Samuel Mather of Ohio, and Mr. Jacob A. Riis of New York.

[*House of Bishops concurred.*]

BOSTON, 1904

The Standing Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor was appointed by the General Convention of 1901 on the motion of the Rev. Dr. R. H. McKim of Washington, and its duties were defined as follows:

First, to study carefully the aims and purposes of the labor organizations of our country.

Secondly, In particular, to investigate the causes of industrial disturbances, as these may arise.

Thirdly, to hold themselves in readiness to act as arbitrators, should their services be desired, between the men and their employers, with a view to bring about mutual conciliation and harmony in the spirit of the Prince of Peace.

The Commission was directed to give an account of its proceedings to the General Convention, and it submits accordingly the following report:

Taking the definitions of our duty in reverse order, we have to say regarding *arbitration* that no request for our services has been received.

We have to confess regarding *investigation* that we have not, as yet, succeeded in studying in common the occasions of current disturbances. We are agreed, however, in the conviction that the causes of the violence of the past three years in Pennsylvania, in Colorado, and in Illinois *are not so much economical as moral.* The strike commonly begins in distrust. The reason at the heart of it is that the master has as little confidence in the good will of the men as the men have in the good faith of the master. The employer and the employed, separated by our industrial conditions at such a social distance as to make fraternal understanding difficult, make their bargain one with another, under these conditions, not as partners, but as competitors. Where distrust and antagonism are well founded, there is nothing for it, as far as the Church is concerned, except conversion. They who are at fault are to be admonished on the one side against prejudice and passion, and on the other side against covetousness and the sins which proceed from the inordinate love of riches. Where distrust and hostility are unfounded, the Church may afford an opportunity of conference. The capitalist and the laborer are alike sons of the Church. They may not sit in the same seat, or even in the same building; that is largely a matter of locality. But there is as much loyalty to the Church and to the Divine Head of the Church in the one class as in the other. The voice of the Christian religion reaches both capital and labor. The Church helps to remove the moral causes of industrial strife when she brings these different members of her family into better acquaintance.

Besides these duties of arbitration and of investigation, we were charged to study the aim and spirit of labor *organization.*

We perceive, among our clergy and laity alike, much ignorance (frankly confessed and deplored) as to the principles which are involved in the conflicts of the industrial world. At the same time, it is plain that an enlightened public opinion is one of the determining factors of the situation. Every industrial dispute involves three parties — the employer, the employed, and the public, and the public eventually casts the deciding

vote. Thus a serious social responsibility rests upon every Christian citizen and more especially upon the Christian Minister.

We suggest, therefore, the following books, as affording an introduction to the study of these matters:

Westcott, "Social Aspects of Christianity" (Macmillan).
Mitchell, "The Organization of Labor."
Drage, "The Labor Problem" (Smith, Elder & Co.).
Peters, "Labor and Capital" (Putnam).
Bull Lectures, 1904, "Organized Labor and Capital" (Jacobs).
Brooks, "The Social Unrest" (Macmillan).
Gladden, "Tools and the Man" (Houghton Mifflin & Co.).
Abbott, "Christianity and Social Problems" (Houghton Mifflin & Co.).
Peabody, "Jesus Christ and the Social Question" (Macmillan).
Report of the Anthracite Coal Commission.

We call attention to the analogy between certain offences of the Union, and like offences, past or present, of both the capitalist and the churchman. Thus the employer's black list corresponds to the Union's boycott, and both are akin to the major excommunication. The lockout and the strike are of the same nature, and there is no great difference between such endeavors to employ the argument of famine and an interdict which deprives a people of the blessings of spiritual life. The question of the closed shop is like the question of the closed State. Men whose Puritan ancestors strove to maintain a State whose privileges should belong only to members of the Church, ought to be able to understand the struggle of their brethren to maintain a shop which no man shall serve except a member of the Union. They may not agree with these brethren, but they ought to appreciate their self-sacrifice. The laborer has learned from the capitalist to despise order and break law. He has learned from the churchman to pursue the dissenter with menace and violence. The recent tragedies in Colorado do not follow at a far distance the massacres which in the sixteenth century ensued upon the withdrawal of Holland from the ecclesiastical union.

While, then, we condemn the tyranny and turbulence of the Labor Union, and call upon the law to preserve the liberty of every citizen to employ whom he will and to work for whom he will, we deprecate the hasty temper which, in condemning the errors of the Unions, condemns at the same time the whole movement with which they are connected. The offences of the Union are as distinct from the cause for which the organization of labor stands, as the inquisition is distinct from the Gospel.

In the face of a prejudice and an hostility for which there are serious reasons, we are convinced that the organization of labor is essential to the well-being of the working people. It is based upon a sense of the inestimable value of the individual man. "The cause of labor is the effort of men, being men, to live the life of men." Its purpose is to maintain such a standard of wages, hours, and conditions as shall afford every man an opportunity to grow in mind and in heart. Without organization the standard cannot be maintained in the midst of our present commercial conditions.

This report is designedly general in its terms, but there is one matter which we are constrained to commend in particular to the consciences of Christian people. We do not undertake to say how much of the blame of child-labor belongs to the employer and how much to the parent, but we do say this: that the employment of children in factories and mills

depresses wages, destroys homes, and depreciates the human stock. Nothing is so important in any community as a human being. Whatever interferes with the proper nature and education of a child contradicts the best interests of the nation. We call, then, on Christian employers and on Christian parents to endeavor after such betterment of the local and general laws as shall make the labor of children impossible in this Christian country.

In the name of our Common Master we ask the attention and the energy of the Church to the removal of this and other crying evils. Thus shall we assist in setting forward the kingdom and obedience of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

We offer the following resolution:

Resolved That the Commission be continued.

HENRY C. POTTER	R. H. MCKIM	SAMUEL MATHER
WILLIAM LAWRENCE	GEORGE HODGES	SETH LOW
CHARLES P. ANDERSON	C. D. WILLIAMS	JACOB RIIS

[*House of Bishops concurred in the resolution in the foregoing.*]

Your Committee take note of the recognition of the Church, that is becoming daily more defined and evident, as the friend of Capital and of Labor. She stands as the friend of Capital to give it opportunity to fulfil its giver's will, not to forget to do good and to distribute; to be its almoner and its trustee for the attainment of the largest results for the investments placed in her charge. She stands as the friend of Labor, that Labor may recognize that, when rightly directed, it is the fulfilment of duties put upon man by his Creator, and that such labor is blessed by the Man's Maker. She stands to be the friend of Capital and Labor in all the sorrows, the griefs, the vicissitudes of life of them both. She stands to weep with him, whether it be the capitalist or the laborer that weeps, and to rejoice with him that does rejoice. Your Committee desire to commend the work of such organizations as have contributed to bring about the recognition of mutual responsibility, and, in this connection, would make special mention of the Church Association for the advancement of the interest of Labor.

(*Extract, Report of the Committee on the State of the Church.*)

RICHMOND, VA., 1907

In re Memorial from the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross, asking that some action be taken by this Convention which shall bring this Church into fuller knowledge of and closer touch with the industrial and social problems of the day; the Committee recommend that this memorial be referred to the Joint Commission on Labor and Capital, with the request that the Commission make their report at an early date in order that it may receive due consideration.

Attest: CHARLES D. WILLIAMS, *Secretary.*

[*House of Bishops so referred the foregoing.*]

Whereas The evil of Child Labor is apparently on the increase in this Christian country, and it is known that the employment of children in factories, mines, and shops reduces wages to the child standard, disintegrates the family, deprives the child of his natural rights to a period of training and ■ time for play, and depreciates the human stock; and

Whereas We recognize the profound responsibility of the Church for our ethical as well as our spiritual standards;

Therefore, we call upon employers and parents to use example and influence toward better legislation and better enforcemnt of the laws for the protection of children, to the end that the exploitation of the labor of children shall become impossible in this Christian country.—

[*Adopted in House of Bishops.*]

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That the Clergy of this Church be requested by the General Convention to observe the Sunday before the first Monday in September as "Labor Sunday," and that special sermons shall accordingly be preached on the Relations between Labor and Capital in the light of Christ's commandments, and that all possible efforts be made by the Clergy to invite both employers and wage-earners to such special services.

[*Referred to Joint Commission on Capital and Labor.*]

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That the members of this Convention exert their influence to persuade all corporations and employers of labor to reduce to the lowest possible point of necessity all secular work upon Sundays, and to see that all persons necessarily employed on that day be given some other one day in seven as a day of rest.

[*House of Bishops concurred.*]

The Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor begs to present the following report:

Since the report presented to the General Convention of 1904 the commission has lost from its membership the Rev. Dr. Williams, now Bishop of Michigan, and Mr. George Pinckard. Their places have been taken by the Rev. E. L. Parsons and Mr. Henry Lewis Morris.

Under the general scope of the responsibilities laid upon it at its creation, the Commission reiterates the principles laid down in its report of 1904.

We believe, as we said then, that *the cause of most labor troubles lies not so much in economic as in moral conditions.* We are ready to make our own the statement of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in organizing its Department of Church and Labor, that "the labor question is fundamentally a moral and a religious question and that it will never be settled upon any other basis."

We believe that the chief mission of the Church at large in dealing with the economic questions of the present is to determine, to proclaim, and to insist upon this moral and religious basis. From very few pulpits of the Church can it be expected that any expert treatment of special issues can be given. Perhaps it is well that that is the case; but the underlying moral principles of society can be presented and their general application be made clearly, forcibly, and fearlessly. Capital should be taught its duty of treating labor fairly, listening to its complaints patiently, and redressing its grievances wherever possible. Welfare work should be urged upon it, and its trusteeship for the right use of its power insisted upon. Labor, on the other hand, should be taught respect for the rights of capital, reliance upon reason and persuasion, and a knowledge that violence and lawlessness are unworthy of a cause which claims to be the cause of humanity. Both should be urged to submit to arbitration such differences, involving no vital principle, as they are unable to settle

by friendly conference. Both should be led to study the teaching of Christ as it bears upon the spirit and form of the social organism.

In further illustration of this application of Christianity to present issues, we call attention again to the importance of the question of child-labor, repeating and emphasizing what was said in our report of 1904. We perceive, indeed, that there are differences of opinion as to some of the fact which are involved. The actual amount of child-labor in the various industries of this country, and the actual amount of harm done to children by such labor, are variously estimated by good men. The need of impartial and thorough investigation is evident. But this we maintain to be indisputable, that the protection of the health and character of youth is essential to the progress of the nation, and that the labor of young children under factory conditions is a plain menace to the general welfare, and is hostile to the spirit of the Christian religion. It is doubly deplorable where parents are responsible for forcing their children into wage-earning at an all too early age, often evading child-labor laws by false statements. We call upon our brethren who are brought into relation with this matter to see to it that so far as they are concerned, no harm, physical or moral, shall come to even the least of those little ones whom to serve is to serve Christ Himself.

In the instruction given it at its creation, the Commission was directed to the study of the aim and spirit of labor organizations. In this respect we *deplore again the ignorance of clergy and laity alike.* We note with regret, as bearing on this point, our former recommendation of certain books upon these questions seem to have borne little fruit. Upon careful inquiry, it would appear that with some local exceptions there has been no greater demand for them than usual. It is clear that on the side of both Church and Labor the mutual ignorance is great. The labor unionist praises the Carpenter of Nazareth. He distrusts the Church which officially represents the master Workman, while the Church through ignorance fails to understand the laborer's aims and motives.

It is equally clear that where that ignorance is dispelled fraternal relations may be readily established. In the Dioceses of Long Island and Los Angeles, and possibly others, fraternal delegates to Labor Councils have been welcomed. The C.A.I.L. and similar organizations have the respect and sympathy of the labor movement, while the great work accomplished by the Rev. Mr. Stelzle of a great sister communion is a matter of common knowledge.

These general considerations are brought to a definite point and made the basis of certain recommendations which we desire to present, by communications which we have received from various bodies interested in these industrial and social problems.

We have received communications from the Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, the Christian Social Union, the Companions of the Holy Cross, and the Eight Hour League, and have heard a representative of the Christian Socialist Fellowship. Without entering into the special terms of each communication, three important matters are thus brought to our attention:

1. The co-ordinaion of various organizations in the Church interested in the labor problem;
2. The promotion of sympathetic relations with labor organizations; and
3. The use of the press for the increase of knowledge and interest on the part of church people.

Touching these in turn we note the following facts:

1. Such work as is being done in the Church is sporadic and local. It is well known that the C.A.I.L. and the Christian Social Union express a dividing rather than a uniting of Church interest in these questions. In various dioceses where neither of these organizations is represented, local Committees or individual bishops and clergy have, we believe, done good work. But there is no head. There is no united action. The influence of the Church is not brought to bear with power. It is our judgment that this condition should cease; that Diocesan Committees of Social Service and the like should be formed, and that they, with the local branches of existing organizations, be brought into mutual co-operation.

That can be done only through a body commissioned by General Convention with power adequate to the purpose.

2. In regard to the establishment of sympathetic relations with labor organizations we have already spoken. We believe it is of essential importance. We believe further that it will be accomplished throughout the country on a wide scale only through the agency of some central body which will initiate and stimulate.

3. It is clear likewise that only such a body will have scope enough to make proper and effective use of the press. Under this head would fall the publication and circulation of brief tracts on special subjects, lists of books recommended for use, and tables of statistics and reports of progress, and also the use of the public press in presenting all industrial questions in the light of Christian thought.

In considering then the whole field, we are agreed in the belief that the first step to the realization of these and kindred objects is the establishment of this Commission upon a permanent basis.

We therefore present the following resolution:

Resolved, the House of Deputies concurring, That the Joint Commission on the Relation of Capital and Labor be made a permanent Commission.

Resolved, the House of Deputies concurring, That its powers be extended to enable it to promote the co-ordination of the various organizations existing in the Church in the interests of social questions and to extend or add to them, to encourage sympathetic relations between Capital and Labor, and to deal according to their discretion with these kindred matters.

(Signed)

H. C. Potter	Randolph H. McKim	Samuel Mather
William Lawrence	George Hodges	Jabob Riis
Charles P. Anderson	Edward L. Parsons	Henry Lewis Morris

[*Report accepted.*]

CINCINNATI, 1910

Whereas The employment of children in factories, mines, and shops, reduces wages to the child's standard, disintegrates the family, deprives the child of his natural rights to a period of training and time of play, and depreciates the human stock; and

Whereas We recognize the responsibility of the Church for our industrial as well as our spiritual standard;

Therefore, We call upon employees and parents to use all influence toward better legislation and better enforcement of the laws for the protection of children, to the end that exploitaion of the labor of children shall become impossible in this Christian country; and

Whereas We believe a special injustice against the child exists in the night work of boys under eighteen, in the transmission of messages, and especially in the distribution of our daily, morning papers, between the hours of 10 P.M. and 6 A.M.;

Therefore, We call upon all Christian legislators to make laws forbidding this work of children under eighteen, between the hours of 10 P.M. and 6 A.M., in the various communities of our Nation.—

[*Adopted in House of Bishops.*]

The Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor begs to submit the following report:

Since the last session of the General Convention the Commission has lost its first Chairman, the late Bishop of New York. From the beginning of his Episcopate, identified with every important movement for social betterment, Bishop Potter was an admirable embodiment of the purpose for which this Commission was established. He was thoroughly versed in the great social problems of our time. His sympathy touched rich and poor alike. Fair in spirit, careful in judgment, fearless in utterance, he was trusted by all classes. His commanding influence was potent in removing from the Church the stigma of indifference to social and industrial conditions. He was succeeded in the Chairmanship by the Bishop of Massachusetts. The vacancy in the Commission has not been filled.

So far as our Commission is concerned, the most important single event since 1907 bearing upon social conditions is the meeting of the Lambeth Conference. The importance of this meeting lies in the fact that the keynote of the Encyclical issued by the Conference as of the various reports and resolutions appended was social service.

In relating the work of the Church to the social movements of the time the Encyclical points out that — "By the power of the truth which it carries and declares, the Church is constantly serving the cause of true progress. But it has a further duty — to be watchfully responsive to the opportunities of service which the movements of civil society provide. The democratic movement of our century presents one of these opportunities. Underlying it are ideals of brotherhood, liberty and mutual justice and help. In these ideals we recognize the working of our Lord's teaching as to the inestimable value of every human being in the sight of God, and His special thought for the weak and the oppressed. These are practical truths proclaimed by the ancient prophets and enforced by our Lord with all the perfectness of His teaching and His life. We call upon the Church to consider how far and wherein it has departed from these truths."

In such a spirit in the various reports and resolutions the Conference touches upon all the great social problems of the day. Its wise and clear words should be read and studied by every one whose interest is alive to those manifold terrible questions which press society for an answer. As especially related to the field of our work, we call attention to certain of the principles laid down concerning property:

"48. The Church should teach that the Christian who is an owner of property should recognize the governing principle that, like all our gifts, our powers and our time, property is a trust held for the benefit of the community, and its right use should be insisted upon as a religious duty.

"49. The Conference urges upon members of this Church practical recognition of the moral responsibility involved in their investments. This moral responsibility extends to — (a) the character and general social

effect of any business or enterprise in which their money is invested; (b) the treatment of the persons employed in that business or enterprise; (c) the due observance of the requirements of the law relating thereto; (d) the payment of a just wage to those who are employed therein."

Significant of this same steadily increasing interest is the establishment of Diocesan Social Service Committees in twelve Dioceses and one Missionary District. Their growth has been fostered by members of this Commission, as well as by the recommendation of the Lambeth Conference, that every Diocese should have some such body. The work of these Diocesan bodies, as revealed in their printed reports, has been comprehensive, careful and thorough. In most cases they have limited their activity to investigation and report; but in some instances the Committee, either through individual members or sub-Committees, have assisted actively in the furtherance of legislation, and it is quite evident that the individual members have been constantly active and influential in all such matters.

The range of topics upon which reports have been made is very wide. All the Committees whose reports have been accessible to us have dealt with the problems of childhood, especially child labor, truancy and sex. All have investigated Public Health questions. Some have studied tenement house conditions, and one, at least, is responsible for the draft and passage of the Tenement House Ordinance of one of our great cities — San Francisco. The Social evil amusements (theatres, gambling, slot machines, and the like) and temperance come next in interest. The New Jersey Committee studies marriage and divorce questions. Chicago contributes a very interesting study of the attitude of labor towards the Church. Several Committees give lists of books to guide the Clergy and others in their reading.

We have felt it worth while to mention these details in order to make clear to the Church the possibilities of this movement. Many Dioceses have been slow to take up such work. Some have been afraid. There is, however, nothing beyond occasional rashness to fear. There is everything to gain. Such a Committee gives to a Diocese a constantly growing number of active workers, a general diffusion of knowledge among the clergy and laity, and the formal pledge of the Church to play her part in the great work of social improvement.

We are impressed in reviewing these reports with the need of better co-ordination among the Dioceses in their work and of better general guidance of the movement. We regret that Bishop Potter's death put an end to plans which he had in mind for carrying out the instructions looking in such direction given to us at the last Convention. The work should be done. It cannot be done effectively by so small a Commission as at present established. We append, therefore, to this report resolutions discharging the present Commission and establishing a larger one with title conforming more nearly to those in use by most of the Diocesan Committees.

This needed work of co-ordination has been undertaken unofficially with considerable success by the Christian Social Union of the C.A.I.L. At Trenton last May a conference of Diocesan Committees was held under the auspices of the Union, as in New York two years ago under the auspices of the C.A.I.L., and its officers have kept in touch with each other. The Union has also vigorously prosecuted its other work of issuing literature bearing upon social questions, arranging for meetings, dissemi-

nating information and the like. The other chief organization of social workers, The Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor, of which Bishop Potter was long President, has also continued its special work. The New York Child Labor Law is, we believe, due to its activity. It rendered conspicuous aid in the strike of the shirt-waist makers in 1909. One of its Committees is now assisting the work of other bodies in the problem of Tenement House Congestion.

Such a brief review, which does not even touch upon the work of special societies, like The Church Temperance Society, indicates the alacrity with which this Church is responding to the present call. This is but our part of the general response of Christian America. The sentiment of American Protestant Christianity has been gathered up and expressed in the reports and recommendations of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. The reports on social questions are sane and forcible, and we trust that they may be widely read by members of this Church. We are glad to make our own the recommendation for the observance of Labor Sunday, and to state our conviction that the three appeals made by the Council's Commission on Social Service in behalf of labor, constituting, as they do, a suggestion of the direction in which improvement of labor conditions may move, deserve the support of every Christian man. These are:

First: The gradual and reasonable reduction of the hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.

Second: A release from employment one day in seven.

Third: A living wage as a minimum in every industry, and *the highest wage that each industry can afford.*

We see no way by which any Christian man can escape responsibility for assisting such reforms. The most notable work in any one Communion continues to be that of the Department of Church and Labor of the Presbyterian Church, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Stelzle. So deeply are we impressed by the possibilities of such an organization of the work that we commend the whole subject to the consideration of the new Commission.

This review of the work and prospects of the Church in the field of social service would not be complete without a reiteration of some of those general principles which must guide her action. Our previous reports have uttered them. They are commonplace of every meeting of religious people in connection with this kind of work; yet we have the prophet's witness to the value of "line upon line, precept upon precept." It requires repetition to weariness in order that even such commonplaces may sink deep into the general mind and become springs of action.

The Church herself has concern not with any specific outward form of society, either political or industrial. Her concern is with the spirit which shall ultimately mould fit forms for its own expression. She cannot, therefore, stand officially for or against individualism or socialism, democracy or autocracy. But she must be hospitable towards every view which claims to utter her own spirit and realize her own ideals. She must give its proponents a free hearing and trust in God's working through humanity to establish permanently only that which is of value.

In the same way the Church represents all classes. Whatever she may be in certain places or at certain times, she is always in ideal the Church of all men. She must deal impartially with all. She cannot ally herself

with capitalists or with laborer, she must throw her influence fearlessly for every movement which means the upbuilding of humanity. She must fearlessly rebuke, warn or encourage rich and poor alike, as the need is.

In delivering such message today, we are convinced that the Church must throw her chief emphasis upon the value of human life. This is but reiterating what we have already quoted from the Lambeth Encyclical. The property right is merely one conferred upon the individual by the community. Morally it exists only in return for social service. It must, in every case, yield to the needs of humanity. No business interests, no profit, however great, can warrant the deliberate deterioration of human life. Such a principle has clear implications. To illustrate from facts recently brought in a startling way before the public; No Christian employer can find valid ground for conducting an industry which requires, or even permits, the regular employment of men for twelve hours a day seven days in the week at a wage which necessitates the work of women and children that the family may live.

Christian society ought not to permit the existence of any industry which cannot succeed without the labor of women and children under unnatural conditions. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren," is the final test of our Christianity. The first care of the Christian employer should be, not his profits, but his men. He should think not so much of getting work out of them as of helping to form these habits of industry which contribute to health and character.

The same principle governs the Church's message to the laborer. It is her business to help him to understand his own struggle and its meaning. He must learn that it is development of the whole man which gives his struggle dignity. The better physical conditions and the opportunity for recreation and education and family life which he seeks are not ends, but means to the end, of better men and women. His unions are justified through seeking such an end. When, therefore, he seems to stand for mediocrity, for the diminution of opportunity for individuals, for a purely class interest and spirit or for violence, the Church must equally reprove. When in ignorance that his whole present advance springs from the Life which the Church preserves for the world he attaches her or neglects her, she must reach out in tenderness to win him back. Only in sympathetic touch can the Church find the way to that hold upon the life of the laborer which she has so largely lost.

Once more: It is an ominous characteristic of our age that we encounter widely spread among both rich and poor a spirit which utterly loses sight of the value of man, not through seeking profit or material gain, but in the making of pleasure the end of life. Much that is said of the emancipation of labor, much that is urged in certain kinds of socialistic writing and speaking proceeds upon the assumption that work is an evil to get through in order that abundance of time may be given to pleasure. It is a false ideal. Pleasure is right, but it must supplement faithful work and recreate body and mind for work. There is a mission for the Church in meeting such ideals by the setting forth of the Christian ideal of service as willing work, as that which gives life value. Here we touch rich as well as poor. The menace of the idle poor who must work but long to be idle rich whose extravagant pleasures corrupt not only their own ideals, but set false ones for the poor. To inherit a fortune and give one's life up to pleasure is more respectable but no more Christian than to tramp the country in unconcealed idleness.

The final solution of all the problems which these remarks suggest lies, we believe, only in the steady increase of the power of Christianity in the community. The power of the Christian ideal of life and the supreme value of every human life, let the Church show forth the one and proclaim the other, and her work will be well done.

(Signed)

William Lawrence	Edward L. Parsons
Charles P. Anderson	Samuel Mather
Randolph H. McKim	Henry Lewis Morris

The Rev. Dr. George Hodges and Mr. Jacob Riis, members of the Commission are not present in Cincinnati and therefore have not signed the report.

Resolved That the Joint Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labor be discharged.

Resolved That a Joint Commission on Social Service be appointed, consisting of five Bishops, five Presbyters and five laymen. It shall be the duty of this Commission to study and report upon social and industrial conditions, to co-ordinate the activities of the various organizations existing in the Church in the interest of social service, to co-operate with similar bodies in other Communions; to encourage sympathetic relations between capital and labor, and to deal according to their discretion with these and kindred matters.

[*Adopted by Both Houses.*]

NEW YORK, 1913

Resolved, the House of Deputies concurring, That the present Joint Commission on Social Service be made a permanent Commission, additions to its membership being made by the Chairman of the House of Bishops and the President of the House of Deputies; that it shall be the duty of this Commission to study and report upon social and industrial conditions; to co-ordinate the activities of the various organizations existing in the Church in the interests of social service; to co-operate with similar bodies in other communions; to encourage sympathetic relations between capital and labor; and to deal according to their discretion with these and kindred matters; and that the General Convention approves the intention of the Commission to appeal to the Church at large for funds for the extension of its work.—

[*House of Deputies concurred.*]

The House of Deputies informs the House of Bishops that it has adopted the following preambles and resolution:

Whereas The moral and spiritual welfare of the people demands that the highest possible standard of living should everywhere be maintained, and that all conduct of industry should emphasize the search for such higher and more human forms and organization as will genuinely elicit the personal initiative and self-respect of the workman, and give him a definite personal stake in the system of production to which his life is given; and

Whereas Injustice and disaproportionate inequality as well as misunderstanding, prejudice, and mutual distrust as between employer and employee are widespread in our social and industrial life today;

Therefore be it Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That we the members of the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church do hereby affirm that the Church stands for the ideal of social justice, and that it demands the achievement of a social order in which the social cause of poverty and the gross human waste of the present order shall be eliminated, and in which every worker shall have a just return for that which he produces, a free opportunity for self-development, and a fair share in all the gains of progress. And since such a social order can only be achieved progressively by the effort of men and women who in the spirit of Christ put the common welfare above private gain, the Church calls upon every communicant, clerical and lay, seriously to take part in the study of the complex conditions under which we are called upon to live, and so to act that the present prejudice and injustice may be supplanted by mutual understanding, sympathy, and just dealings, and the ideal of thorough-going democracy may be finally realized in our land.

[*House of Bishops concurred.*]

Whereas According to the census, there are in the United States about 2,000,000 children under sixteen years of age employed in gainful occupation, and many thousands of children working under the protection of certificates in which they are falsely represented as being of the legal age for employment; and

Whereas Child slavery and illiteracy are promoted by and awful physical, mental, and moral wreckage often result from the employment of children of tender years and in the critical period of life in factories, mines, stores, and street trades; therefore

Resolved, the House of Deputies concurring, That this General Convention of this Church condemns the employment of children in labor beyond that adapted to their age and strength, and at times or in places which would deprive them of an opportunity for education suited to their capacity. But it recognizes that labor is honorable and that every child should be trained according to his natural aptitude, so as to qualify him to labor truly to get his own living. Therefore, we emphasize the importance of vocational training and commend the careful study of that subject to all social workers.—

[*House of Deputies concurred.*]

The House of Bishops informs the House of Deputies that it has had Message No. 80 from the House of Deputies under consideration, and has adopted the following resolution as a substitute for the resolution contained therein:

Resolved, the House of Deputies concurring, That the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church hereby records its gratitude to Almighty God for the growing sympathy and closer relations between bodies of Christians, as evidenced by the "Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America"; but the strong conviction of this Church is that the ideal of our Lord for His people is organic unity in one body; realizing, however, the desirability of Christian co-operation, when practicable without the sacrifice of principle. This Convention expresses the opinion that the Commissions on Christian Unity and on Social Service may appoint representatives to take part in the Federal Council.

[*House of Deputies concurred.*]

ST. LOUIS, 1916

The House of Deputies informs the House of Bishops that it has adopted the following Resolution:

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That the Joint Commission on Social Service be requested to consider the Memorial of the Diocese of Rhode Island and to formulate a "fuller definition of the field of Social Service," as in the appended Memorial is demanded.

[*House of Bishops concurred.*]

The House of Deputies informs the House of Bishops that it has adopted the following Resolution:

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That the subject of the Craft plan for the solution of collective poverty be presented to the Joint Commission on Social Service, with a request that the same be carefully studied and that a report be submitted to the next General Convention.

[*Referred, Commission on Social Service.*]

Resolved, the House of Deputies concurring, That this General Convention affirms its profound conviction that one day in seven for rest is a divine law for humanity, and is an inalienable right of every man and every woman.

[*House of Deputies concurred.*]

The House of Deputies informs the House of Bishops that it has adopted the following Resolution:

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That the present Joint Commission on Social Service be continued as a permanent Commission, additions to its membership being made by the Chairman of the House of Bishops and the President of the House of Deputies; that it shall be the duty of this Commission to study and report upon social and industrial conditions; to co-ordinate the activities of the various organizations existing in the Church, in the interests of social service; to co-operate with similar bodies in other communions; to encourage sympathetic relations between capital and labor; and to deal according to their descretion with these and kindred matters; and that the General Convention approve the intention of the Commission to appeal to the Church at large for the extension of its work.

[*House of Bishops concurred.*]

A communication from the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross, a Society of devout Women, has been referred to this Committee, and the Committee recommends the adoption of the Resolution contained therein, viz.:

Resolved That the service of the community and the welfare of the workers, not primarily private profit, should be the aim of every industry and its justification; and that the Church should seek to keep this aim constantly before the mind of the public, and that Christians as individuals are under the solemn obligation on the one hand conscientiously to scrutinize the sources of their income, and on the other hand to give moral support and prayer to every just effort to secure fair conditions and regular employment for wage-earners, and the extension of true democracy to industrial matters.

[*Adopted by Both Houses.*]

DETROIT, 1919

The House of Deputies informs the House of Bishops that it has adopted the following Preambles and Resolution:

Whereas Industrial strife, and especially sudden or prolonged strikes involved the disturbance and at times even the suspension of the production and distribution of the necessities of life, thus threatening and injuring the welfare of the commonwealth; and

Whereas The Christian principle of brotherhood demands that the welfare of the whole community must come before the welfare of any individual;

Therefore be it Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That this Convention urges upon capital and labor alike the acceptance of the "principle of partnership as the business aspect of brotherhood," the submission of all industrial differences to competent boards of arbitration and the recognition of service to the community as a whole, rather than individual gain, as the primary motive in every kind of work.

[*House of Bishops concurred.*]

The House of Deputies informs the House of Bishops that it has adopted the following Resolution:

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That a new Canon 58 be adopted to read as follows:

CANON 58

Of the Presiding Bishop and Council

1. The Presiding Bishop and Council, as hereinafter constituted, shall administer and carry on the Missionary, Educational and Social Work of the Church, of which work the Presiding Bishop shall be the executive head.

11. The Presiding Bishop and Council shall exercise all the powers of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society as provided in Canon 57, Article 11, p. 1, and have charge of the unification, development and prosecution of the work of Missions, Church Extension, Religious Education, and Christian Social Service; of the performance of such work as may be committed to them by the General Convention, and of the initiation and development of such new work between the sessions of the General Convention as they may deem necessary, subject, however, to the provisions of the Constitution and Canons and other directions of the General Convention, etc.

[*House of Bishops concurred.*]

The House of Deputies informs the House of Bishops that it has adopted the following Resolution:

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That the Social Service Commission be requested to give thoughtful consideration to the resolution herewith appended, bearing upon social justice, and that it take such action as in its best judgment will best promote the ends therein set forth.

(*Whereas* Canon 57, Article 1, of the General Canons of this Church defines the membership of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society to be "all persons who are members of this Church," and

Whereas Such membership in The Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society places upon each person accepting it an obligation to fulfill all duties involved in such membership; and

Whereas This recognition of the identity of membership in this Church and in the Missionary Society has clearly defined before all men the attitude of this Church towards the task of Christian Missions;

Therefore be it Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That the Committee on Canons be, and hereby is, directed to prepare a Canon which shall make clear to all men the fact that membership in this Church lays upon each member a sacred and personal responsibility to set forward, by his personal efforts, the cause of social justice and human brotherhood in accordance with the principles of the Kingdom of Christ.)

[*House of Bishops concurred.*]

The Committee of Social Service, to which was referred the petition of the Postal Employees that we aid them in obtaining a living wage, begs leave to offer the following:

Resolved, the House of Deputies concurring, That the General Convention expresses its hearty sympathy with the efforts of the Postal Employees and refers their petition to the Board of Social Service, with the request that it use its influence to secure for them a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life.

[*House of Deputies concurred.*]

Whereas The House of Bishops has received from the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross a Memorial asking that the General Convention present to the President of the United States, and other authorities, a request for the immediate release of men and women described as "political prisoners"; and

Whereas In the execution of laws enacted in war-time to promote military effectiveness, persons innocent of criminal intent, but conscientiously opposed to Military service, have been incarcerated; and others have been sentenced for the expression of opinions contrary to public policy in time of war; and

Whereas The continued imprisonment of such persons, however small their number, after the cessation of hostilities, is calculated to breed discontent; and

Whereas In spite of the generally humane purpose of commandants and other officers of the military prisons, or "disciplinary barracks," military discipline is inadequate to deal in a satisfactory way with the class of persons known as "absolutists," namely, conscientious objectors who refused, and still refuse, the alternative of a non-combatant service of whatever kind under military orders,

Therefore be it Resolved, the House of Deputies concurring, That this Convention respectfully urges upon the civil authorities discriminating executive clemency for those persons who are still imprisoned for declining to do what their consciences forbade, or who have been sentenced under war-time legislation for the expression of their opinions.

[*Non-Concurrence, House of Deputies.*]

With reference to the Memorial presented to the Convention of the Diocese of Los Angeles regarding an amendment of the Social Service Canon, so as to demand of every member of this Church the full assumption of responsibility in the cause of Social Justice, the Committee on Social Service begs to report that in its judgment no general action will effect the ends sought. Social and economic justice are supremely demanded of those who profess Christian discipleship and to this the Church is unqualifiedly committed. Such justice must be prompted by a

fearless pulpit and consecrated Church membership, rather than by general enactment. The Committee, therefore, offers the following Resolution:

Resolved That the Social Service Commission be requested to give to the Memorial from the Diocese of Los Angeles herewith referred to it, serious consideration, and that it take such action as may most effectively bring this demand for social and economic justice before the whole Church — and that this Committee be dismissed from the further consideration of the subject.

JAMES E. FREEMAN, *Chairman*

[*Report Accepted.*]

PORTLAND (ORE), 1922

The House of Deputies informs the House of Bishops that it has adopted the following Resolution:

Whereas The Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America is desirous of taking all steps possible to help and improve the condition of the workingmen generally in this country, and wishes to show its interest by wise and concrete expressions, Therefore be it

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That a Joint Commission be appointed, with power to add to their number and to fill vacancies, consisting of three Bishops, three Presbyters, and three Laymen, for the following purposes:

1. To inquire in the various parts of the United States what facilities now exist for the purpose of giving to workingmen when not employed at their daily vocations, proper opportunities for recreation and social intercourse, both for themselves and the members of their families, also to determine to what extent present conditions can be permanently improved by the establishing throughout the United States in all sutiable places Men's Institutes, locally self-governing, where men can find suitable opportunities for reading, recreation, social intercourse, and the frank discussion of matters touching their general welfare.

2. In case, after a careful examination, said Joint Commission finds it possible and desirable to formulate plans for the formation of such Men's Institutes, or other Associations of a similar nature, then said Joint Commission is authorized to organize under the laws of the State of New York, or elsewhere, a corporation (subject to the control of the Joint Commission) for the carrying out of such plans, and the said Joint Commission shall make a full report to the next General Convention of all steps taken by it in pursuance of this resolution.

The House appoints on such Commission the following members:

The Rev. Dr. Stires of New York, the Rev. Dr. Kinsolving of Maryland, the Rev. Mr. Lawrence of Massachusetts, Mr. Baylies of New York, Mr. Conkey of Northern Indiana, Mr. Erwin of North Carolina.

The House concurred in the foregoing Message.

The House appointed, as members of such Joint Commission on its part, the Bishop of Newark, the Bishop Coadjutor of Ohio and the Bishop of New York.

The House of Deputies informs the House of Bishops that it has adopted the following Resolution:

Resolved, the House of Bishops concurring, That this Church deplores

any tendency on the part of some in authority to limit free discussion of the principles of social justice as these are believed in by large groups of men and women in America, and affirms its belief that no Christian democracy is possible unless such be based on the principles involved in free assembly, free discussion of national issues, a free press and a free pulpit.

[*House of Bishops concurred.*]

The House of Bishops informs the House of Deputies that it has adopted the following Resolution:

Resolved, the House of Deputies concurring, That

Whereas We are confronted today in the realm of industry with a practically universal strife, which imperils the well-being and sometimes the very existence of the people, and which threatens the economic foundations of our civilization;

Therefore be it Resolved That we re-affirm the declaration of the Lambeth Conference of 1920 that

Fellowship is the only hope and salvation of a world of broken relationships, and mutually warring selfish interests.

A. Fellowship among Christians of every name is the only basis for an effective organized Christianity.

B. Fellowship among Nations is the only security for permanent world-peace.

C. Fellowship in industry is the only foundation for economic prosperity and social well-being.

But fellowship must be more than a word to conjure with in resolutions, platforms and sermons. It must be based on Christian principles and find practical and concrete expression in the working policies and methods of industry.

Among the principles that must underlie and motivate any industrial system that can be called Christian are the following:

1. Human rights must take precedence of property rights. Therefore a minimum subsistence wage, and if possible a comfort and saving wage must be the first charge on the industry, and the public as well as employers must be willing to pay respectively their proportionate shares of this charge.

2. Co-operation for the common service must be substituted for the present competition for private advantage as the paramount motive and end of all industry. This principle requires immediately

(a) from capital, honest goods and services for fair prices, and

(b) from Labor, honest work and full service for fair wages. Ultimately it involves "a fundamental change in the spirit and working of our whole industrial system."

3. The worker who invests his life and that of his family in industry must have, along with the capitalist who invests his money, some voice in the control of the industry which determines the conditions of his working and living. There must be established a sane and reasonable measure of democracy in industry. The worker of today is rightly seeking self-expression and self-determination in industry, as well as a livelihood from industry.

4. The right of labor, equally with capital to effective organization and the corresponding responsibility on both sides for the exercise of the power

so attained, in strict accordance with the moral law as serving the common good. Negotiation through collective bargaining must take the place of the ruinous strife of strikes.

Therefore, while the Church cannot commit herself to any particular program of social reform or policy of industrial reconstruction, she can and must do these things at least;

1. Proclaim persistently these fundamental Christian principles in industry.

2. Watch and encourage with sympathetic interest those many hopeful experiments, looking to the establishment of such principles, which are today being tried by our most enlightened employers.

3. Listen with open and unprejudiced mind to any voices, come whence they may, which utter the aspirations and ideals of the great toiling masses of mankind.

4. Urge upon her members and particularly her clergy, the earnest careful and impartial study of the whole industrial problem in the light of the teachings of Christ, with especial attention to the real spiritual significance of the world-wide labor movement which is so often dumb and inarticulate and which generally finds such inadequate and often distorted interpretation in our public press and current literature, Etc.

[*House of Deputies Concurred.*]

NEW ORLEANS, 1925

Report No. 3. A Memorial signed by some 169 people from some 22 Dioceses, but chiefly from New England, regarding the spread of radicalism in our Church, and asking this Convention to deal with the subject adequately in a way that will inform the Church members and the community of the Church's stand; also to counsel clergy and laity to avoid entangling the Church with subversive forces.

The *Bishop of Western New York offered the following substitute Resolution:*

Resolved That this House regrets that the substance of this Petition and the language in which it is couched are such as cannot be entertained for consideration by this House.

The question being on the substitute it was adopted.

Judge Parker of Massachusetts asked for the privilege of making a statement, which was granted, concerning a petition which had been presented in the House of Bishops asking for an investigation of the Department of Christian Social Service of the National Council. As there had been a rumor circulated that the petition had been presented by the delegation from Massachusetts, he desired to make it known on his own behalf, as well as on the behalf of the whole delegation from Massachusetts, that they had not presented the petition and did not approve of it.

APPENDIX C

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE VALUE of a bibliography on the general subject of Church and Industry has been apparent throughout this study. From time to time in the compilation of facts, the organization of historical material and the stories of field studies, and in our attempt to survey what we had learned with a critical eye, it has seemed that much of our work takes on greater meaning when seen in the light of previously gathered material. The work of our predecessors, in the field of industrial investigation from the point of view of Christian interests, lends much interest and historical imagination to the present work. Those who would attempt to resolve our findings into some kind of belief or principle can profitably turn to any or all of the books and pamphlets in the following bibliography, to learn the best thought of the past as well as its mistakes and misconceptions. Needless to say, all those books of outstanding importance which deal with our problem of Church-industry relations are included; there are in addition a great many publications less well known (in many cases undeservedly so) thus swelling the total list to a size which exceeds any other bibliography on the subject in circulation.[1]

[1] The authors would like to emphasize that the kind of bibliography discussed here is of a more specific nature than bibliographies on either industrial relations or the Church, it being confined to contacts between the two wider subjects. The periodicals listed, like the books and pamphlets are those which deal with this particular inter-relationship.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, AND PERIODICALS, DEALING WITH THE CHURCH AND INDUSTRY

BOOKS

[Books marked (*) are out of print.]

"Acquisitive Society, The," R. H. Tawney, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York City, $1.50. An argument of vigor and insight, religious in inception, and sobered by a deep sense of the needs and point of view of the masses of workers.

* "Applied Christianity," Washington Gladden, 1886. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. The moral aspects of social questions analyzed from a Christian view-point.

"Bible and Labor, The," J. C. Husslein, S.J., Macmillan Co., New York City $2.25. Status and purposes of Labor discussed in the light of biblical thought and history.

"Bishop Potter, The People's Friend," Harriette A. Keyser, Thomas Whitaker, Inc., New York City 1910. A biography of the Rt. Rev. Henry Codman Potter, Labor's champion in the Church in the late nineteenth century.

"British Labor Speaks," Edit R. W. Hogue, Boni & Liveright, New York City 1924. A symposium by Ramsay MacDonald, Bishop Gore, Seebohm Rowntree, Phillip Snowden, and others.

"Business and the Church," Edit. Jerome Davis, Century Co., 1926. A symposium by such leaders as Rockefeller, Ford, William Green, and William Hapgood, giving their philosophy and convictions.

"Call of the Carpenter," B. White, Doubleday, Page & Co., New York City 1914.

"Can Christ and Industry Unite?" David Carnegie, foreword by Rt. Hon. Geo. N. Barnes, Marshall Bros. Ltd., London. U. S. agent, W. P. Blessing, 63 East Adams Street, Chicago, Illinois.

* "Carpenter and the Rich Man," Bouck White, Doubleday, Doran Co., New York City. A challenging conception of industry, based on the figure of Christ.

"Catholic Socialism," Francesco Nitti, 1908, Macmillan, New York City. An historical study by a sometime professor of political economy in the University of Naples. Translated by Mary Macintosh, introduction by D. G. Ritchie, Professor of Logic in St. Andrew's.

"Catholicism and Property," Report of the Third Anglo-Catholic Sum-

mer School of Sociology, Soc. of S.S. Peter and Paul, 8 Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W.1. Economics criticized on a basis of Catholic theory.

"Catholicism, Capitalism and Communion," Jeremiah C. Harrington, E. M. Lohmann Co., St. Paul, Minn., 1926. Preface by. J. Ryan, D.D., introduction by Ralph Adams Cram, epilogue by G. K. Chesterton.

"Christ and Labour," C. F. Andrews, Ganesh & Company, Madras, India, 1922, 146 pp., published in U. S. by Geo. H. Doran, New York City, Student Christian Movement. Christ and Labour as seen by the intimate co-worker of Ghandi and Tagore.

"Christ and Society," Bishop Charles Gore, Scribner's, $2.00. Bishop Gore asserts that a social reform amounting to a revolution is needed, and pleads for a peaceful one under Christian leadership.

"Christian Citizenship, the Story and Meaning of COPEC," Ed. Shillito, Longmans, Green & Co., 1924. Deals with the conference's ideals and aims, its past and future.

"Christian Ethic as an Economic Factor," Sir Josiah Stamp, The Epworth Press, London, England. A titled English layman calls the Church's attention to several things.

"Christian Faith and Human Relations," R. W. Babson, Judson Press, Boston 1922. Lectures delivered in the Stephen Greene Foundation in Newton Theological Institution, 1920–21.

"Christian Fellowship and Modern Industry," A. E. Holt, Pilgrim Press, Boston 1923. A study course providing a wealth of source material.

"Christian Ideals in Industry," Johnson and Holt, Abingdon Press, New York City. A well-arranged and fair-minded textbook for Bible classes.

"Christian Mission in Relation to Industrial Problems," The Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, 1928. Published by the Missionary Council, 419 Fourth Ave., New York City.

"Christian Outlook, The," Sir William Ashley, Longmans, Green & Co., New York City. An economist preaches seven sermons on the Christian attitude to economic questions.

"Christian Social Reformers of the Nineteenth Century," A symposium by English Churchmen, 1927. Published by Student Christian Movement, 32 Russell Square, London, W.C.1.

"Christian Socialism 1848–1854." C. Raven, Macmillan Co., New York City. An historical study of Christian socialism in its early years as a movement.

"Christian Socialism in England," Arthur V. Woodworth, 1903, Scribner's, New York City. The author traces Christian socialism from its origin under Maurice and Kingsley to its present form in the Christian Social Union.

"Christian Unity of Capital and Labor," H. W. Cadman, Union Press, Philadelphia. Christianity conceived of as a means of consolidating two opposed forces.

* "Christianity and Commerce," Frank I. Paradise, Dodd, Mead & Co., New York City 1913. Western expansion studied in relation to the Churches.

"Christianity and Economic Problems," Kirby Page, et al., Association Press, New York City. A valuable survey of the general problem, with much information and challenging suggestions.

"Christianity and Economic Science," W. Cunningham, Longmans, Green

& Co., New York City. The relation between the two is discussed technically and with care.

"Christianity and Reconstruction, The Labor Question," Fr. Bampton, S.J., Sands & Co., London and Edinburgh. A series of lectures in which a Jesuit priest takes an unequivocal stand on many points.

"Christianity and Slavery," Chapman Cohen, Pioneer Press, 49 Vesey Street, New York City. A discussion by an iconoclast, whose opinions may be of peculiar value for that reason.

"Christianity and Social Problems," Abbot, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston. A keen discussion by a pioneer in this special realm of thought.

"Christianity and Social Questions," W. Cunningham, Scribners Sons, New York City. A conservative book which emphasizes the difficulty of social reform.

"Christianity and Social Science," Chas. A. Ellwood, Macmillan Co., New York City 1923. Lectures at Yale Divinity School, in which the author presents a challenge to the Church.

"Christianity and the Social Crisis," Walter Rauschenbusch, Macmillan Co., 1907. Industry's antagonism for Christian principles is clearly depicted by an American social prophet of the early twentieth century.

"Christianity and the Trust," Walter L. Best, Republic Printing House, Hudson, New York 1907. Christian principles applied to a particular economic evil.

"Christianizing the Social Order," Walter Rauschenbusch, Macmillan Co., New York City 1912. Rauschenbush maintains that the present order is incompatible with Christian principles and offers correctives.

"Church and Industrial Reconstruction, The," Committee on War and Religious Outlook, Association Press, New York City 1920. Points out that Church must redefine its attitude toward the present economic order.

"Church and Labor, The," L. McKenna, P. J. Kenedy & Son, New York City 1914. Six tracts which explain how Labor's ideals are the Church's and their welfare is common.

"Church and Labor, The," J. Ryan, D.D. and J. Husslein, S.J., Macmillan Co., New York City 1924. A full and authoritative statement of the attitude and teaching of the Roman Catholic Church in relation to industrial problems. Made up of documents by Popes, Bishops, and others.

"Church and Labor, The," Chas. Stelzle, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston 1910. Written by a pioneer in the field of Labor and the American Church programmes.

"Church and Modern Industry," Com. on the Church and Social Service, 1908, Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City. An Interdenominational statement on a question of increasing importance.

"Church and the Community, The," R. E. Diffendorfer, Missionary Education Movement, 150 Fifth Ave., New York City. A short study of community and its relation to changed conditions in the Churches.

"Church and the Labor Conflict," Parley Paul Wormer, Macmillan Co., New York City 1913. A discussion of organized religion and militant labor.

"Church and the People," Joseph McCabe, Truth Seeker, 49 Vesey St., New York City. An iconoclastic treatment by a famous anti-Christian.

"Church and the Russian Revolution, The," Matthew Spinka, Macmillan,

1927. A seminary professor in Chicago sees little more danger to the Church in Russia than in other countries.

"Churches and the Wage Earner," C. B. Thompson, Scribners Sons, New York City 1909. A scholarly computation of proved facts concerning the wage earner and his attitude toward the Churches, with discussion by 100 eminent authorities.

"Coal Strike in Western Pennsylvania, The," Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City. An interesting study of an important situation (1928) with conclusions from a Christian view-point.

"Communism and Christianism," W. M. Brown, Truth Seeker, 49 Vesey Street, New York City. Communism and Christianism analyzed and contrasted from the standpoint of Darwinism and Marxism, by a former Episcopalian Bishop.

"Democracy and the Church," Samuel George Smith, D. Appleton, New York City 1912. A thoughtful argument for the conviction that the religious life is a permanent department of social science.

"Democracy and the Dog Collar," G. A. Studdert-Kennedy, Geo. H. Doran Co., New York City. Social duties and ideals seen through the eyes of a great modern prophet of the Church of England.

"Democratic Industry," J. Husslein, S.J., P. J. Kenedy & Son, New York City. A solution of modern economic questions which is in conformity with the earliest traditions of Christianity and the latest Episcopal pronouncements.

"Divine Revolution, The," W. G. Peck, Morehouse, Milwaukee 1927. The Cross challenges the modern world and is so revolutionary as to oppose the present social order.

"Divine Society, The," W. G. Peck, Student Christian Movement, 32 Russell Square, London, W.C.1, 1925. The present social order is wrong, but no other can be achieved unless we will see a definite spiritual purpose in life.

"Does Civilization Need Religion?" Rheinold Neibuhr, Macmillan, 1928, $2.00. A brilliant young prophet sees the need for Christianity to make its ethical and social resources available for the solution of society's greatest problems.

"Economic Anti-Christ, The," W. Blissard, Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, 1917. A study in social polity, which conceives the present economic order to be basic in all society's ills.

"Economic Background of the Gospels, The," Frederick C. Grant, 1926, Oxford University Press. The Dean of Western Theological Seminary shows how the hope for a Kingdom of God was sustained by economic considerations.

"Economic Problems and the Christian Ideal," Milton T. Stauffer, ed., Association Press, New York City 1923. A symposium.

"Economics of the Kingdom of God," Fr. P. B. Bull, Macmillan Co., New York City 1927. The Kingdom of God is shown to be the ground for a Christian social ideal.

"Ethics of Capitalism, The," J. G. Rosebush, Association Press, New York City 1923. A discussion of central issues by one who is at once a capitalist and a sociologist.

"Farm and Factory in China," J. B. Taylor, Student Christian Movement, 32 Russell Square, London, W.C.1. Chinese economic problems studied with grave Christian concern.

"Future of the Church Economic Facts," Roger W. Babson, Fleming Revell Co., New York City 1921. The president of the Babson Statistical Organization gives out valuable information.

"Gospel of the Poor; the Christ of the Commune," Morrison Davidson, F. R. Henderson Co., London 1903.

"Human Factor in Business, The," B. Seebohm Rowntree, Longmans, Green and Co., New York City 1921. The human personality in industry should be considered first, says a prominent English capitalist.

"Industrial Relations and the Churches," A study in labor by the Wharton School of Finance, University of Penn. Edited by John A. Ryan and R. Ernest Johnson, American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1922.

"Industry and Human Welfare," W. L. Chenery, Macmillan Co., New York City 1922. States the major effects of the rise of the factory system on the welfare of the American people.

"Industry and Property," C.O.P.E.C. report X, Longmans, Green and Co., New York City 1924. A great Church conference here presents its findings.

"InterChurch World Movement, Analysis of Report on Steel Strike," Marshall Olds, G. P. Putnam and Sons, New York City 1923. A critical analysis of the InterChurch steel strike report allegedly disclosing inaccuracies and fallacies.

"International Relations of Labor," David Hunter Miller, A. A. Knopf Co., New York City 1921. Lectures delivered at the Harvard Summer School of Theology in 1920.

"Irrepressible Conflict," "Or how some can enjoy the fruits and the labor of others legally, respectfully and honorably, while others on whose efforts they ride complain fervently, reverently and inconsistently, and bow to their burdens as a duty almost divine," by Lloyd K. Kestler, Bunker Hill, Kan., 1921.

"Jesus Christ an Economic Mediator; God's Remedy for Industrial and International Ills," J. E. Darby, Fleming Revell Co., New York City 1922.

"Jesus Christ and the Social Question," F. G. Peabody, Macmillan Co., New York City 1900. Meets the need for inspiration and provides a good text-book.

"Jesus Christ and the World Today," Grace Hutchins and Anna Rochester, Geo. H. Doran Co., New York City 1922. Jesus and His ideals find no recognition in the present economic order.

"Kingdom of God in Industry," W. T. Symons, Independent Press, London, England. A prominent English Laborite applies Christian principles to the economic scene.

"Kingdom of God in Industry," Edit. Malcolm Spencer, Bryn Melyn, Harrow-Weald, Middlesex, England. A symposium by Laborites and Churchmen.

"Labor and Religion," S. Skelhorn, Drawes, Ltd., London 1926. A keen discussion by an able priest of the Anglican Communion.

"Labor Movement and the Churches," J. M. Wilson, Stratford Co., Boston 1922. A Canadian seeks to show how the Labor Movement is based intellectually and practically on Christianity and the Church.

"Labor Problem and the Social Catholic Movement in France," Parker Thomas Moon, Macmillan, 1921. History shows that the emphasis is being put on the increasing importance of Labor in political and religious thought.

"Labour and the Church," H. T. Knight, Curtis and Beamish, Ltd., London, England.

"Leisure," Report V, Conference on Politics, Economics, and Citizenship, Longmans, Green and Co., New York City.

"Marxian Socialism and Religion," John Spargo, 1915. Viking Press, New York City, $1.00. A prominent Episcopalian and socialist shows the compatibility of these two systems of thought.

"Modern Industry," Malcolm Sparks, Student Christian Movement, 32 Russell Square, London, W.C.1. Industry is examined by a Christian, and found wanting.

"Morality of the Strike," D. A. McLean, P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York City. The author deals provocatively with such contentious matters as picketing and the sympathetic strike.

"More Christian Industrial Order, A," Henry S. Coffin, Macmillan, New York City 1920. The views of the president of Union Theological Seminary.

"Motives of Men, The," George A. Coe, Scribners Sons Co., New York City 1928. Traces the causes for the deterioration of men's motives and finds industry is basic.

"New Social Order, The," Harry F. Ward, Macmillan Co., New York City 1926. A Christian teacher surveys new social experiments, like the British Labor Party, Russian Soviet Republic, The League of Nations and the Socialist Party.

"New Spirit in Industry, The," F. Ernest Johnson, Association Press, New York City 1919. A discussion of the Labor Movement, organized and the war, the ethics of labor and capital, etc.

"New World of Labor, The," Sherwood Eddy, Geo. G. Doran Co., 1923. Changing conditions in industry are reviewed, with consideration of the possible future for Christian ideals.

"Organized Labor and Capital," Fr. P. B. Bull, Geo. W. Jacobs & Co., 1904. Lectures by an outstanding Catholic of the English Church, who has led the way in Christian radical thought.

"Our Economic Morality," Harry F. Ward, Macmillan Co., New York City 1929. Can the ethics of our present economic morality live with Christian ethics, or must one nullify the other? Are the tendencies of the present system inimical to Jesus' ideals?

"Path of Labor, The" (Christianity and the World's Workers), M. Katherine Bennett, Grace Scribner, John E. Calfee, et al. New York Council of Women for Home Missions, 1918.

"Poverty, A Challenge to The Church," J. S. Penman, Pilgrim Press, Boston 1915.

"Prayers of the Social Awakening," Walter Rauschenbusch, Pilgrim Press, Boston 1910. Prayers which are built around a sense of imperative social need.

"Proceedings of C.O.P.E.C.," Being a report in ten volumes of the meetings of the Conference on Christian politics, economics, and citizenship. Published for the Conference committee by Longmans, Green and Co., 1924.

"Profit of the Many, the Biblical Doctrine and Ethics of Wealth," Edward Talmage Root, Fleming Revell Co., New York City 1899. The title describes the book.

"Property," Bishop of Oxford, et al., Macmillan Co., New York City. Leaders in the Church of England express their beliefs and criticisms in regard to the present economic order.

"Quest for the Kingdom of God in Industry," Angus Watson, Independent Press, Ltd., London. A Free Church minister discusses present efforts to realize Jesus' ethics in industry, and the further possibilities.

"Religion and Business," by Roger W. Babson, Macmillan Co., New York City 1920. A survey of the status of the Church with a business man's rod.

"Religion and Social Justice," Sherwood Eddy, Geo. H. Doran, 1927. Social justice, including industrial equity, are considered as a part of the Churches' responsibility.

"Religion and the Rise of Capitalism," R. H. Tawney, Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York City 1926. A scholarly historical study by an eminent economist of the University of London.

"Religion Under the Soviets," Julius F. Hecker, Vanguard Press, New York City. A professor of social ethics in the Moscow Theological Academy explains the status of religion in Russia since the workers' revolution.

"Remedy for Industrial Warfare, The," Charles Elliot, American Unitarian Ass'n, Boston. Christianity is conceived as the haven for strikes between capital and labor.

"Return of Christendom," Maurice Reckitt, Ed., Macmillan Co., New York City. A symposium by leading English Churchmen, which deals with radical economic reform.

"Representative Government in Industry," James F. Myers, Geo. H. Doran Co., New York City 1924. The Federal Council industrial relations expert discusses the problem in the light of the Duchess Bleaching Experiment.

"Social Aspects of Christianity," B. F. Westcott, Macmillan Co., New York City. The work of a prominent scholar and teacher in the Church of England.

"Social Catholic Movement in Great Britain," Georgiana P. McEntree, Macmillan Co., New York City 1917. History of the Catholic Movement in England, Cardinal Manning, the Catholic Social Guild, and broader aspects.

"Social Disciples in the Christian Community," Edit. Malcolm Spencer, Longmans, Green and Co., New York City. A symposium by Englishmen devoted to the practice of Christian brotherly love.

"Social Principles of Jesus," W. Rauschenbusch, Association Press, New York City. The social gospel as interpreted by a leading Protestant teacher.

"Social Teachings of the Prophets," Charles Foster Kent, Scribners Sons Co., New York City. The Old and New Testament prophets are analyzed and their social message made clear.

"Social Theory of Religious Education," George A. Coe, Scribners Sons Co., New York City. An educator lays down the rules of Christian enlightenment on social and industrial questions.

"Socialism and Character," Vida D. Scudder, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1912, $2.25. An eminent Churchman and liberal educator discusses the relation between socialism and character, its promise for fuller personality.

"Socialism and the Churches," Chapman Cohen, Truth Seeker, Inc., 49 Vesey Street, New York City. A critical analysis from the point of view of a materialist.

"Socialism from Genesis to Revelation," F. M. Sprague, Lathrop (pub.).

Further information concerning this book has not been secured. The title challenges interest.

"Socialism from the Christian Standpoint," Bernard Vaughan, New York 1912. The title will define the author's theoretical burden. A stimulating discussion.

"Son of the Bowery, A," Chas. Stelzle, Doran, New York City. Memoirs of a prominent Presbyterian clergyman who tried a programme of Church-industry relations.

"Together at Last," The International Reconciliation of Labor and Religion by seven leaders in the International Labour Movement at the International Labour Hall, May 1–7, 1915. Publisher, J. Johnson, London 1915.

"Treatment of the Problem of Capital and Labor in Social Courses in the Churches," Clarence Dan Blackly, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill., 1920.

"Twenty Objections to Christians Belonging to Labor Unions," G. W. Fink, Centerville, Pa., 1924.

"Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work," Stockholm, 1925, American section, report of Comm. 1–6, August 19–30, 1925. Department of Research and Education, Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

"What is the Christian View of Work and Wealth?" Federal Council of Churches in America, Canadian Brotherhood Federation, International Committee of the Y.M.C.A. and National Board of the Y.M.C.A. Association Press, New York City 1920.

"Work, Wealth and Wages," J. C. Husslein, S.J., Matre & Co., Chicago.

"World Problem, The," J. C. Husslein, S.J., P. J. Kenedy & Son Co., Chicago. A Jesuit explains how the economic question is basic to all world problems, and how Christianity can cure all ills.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PAMPHLETS

"Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction," Social Action department, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C. $.05

"Brotherhood and Industry," A White Paper, No. 1, Brotherhood Movement, 37 Norfolk Street, Strand, London, England.

"Can We Christianize the Industrial System?" T. R. Williams. Memorial Hall Address, Industrial Christian Fellowship, Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.

"Catechism of the Social Question," J. Ryan and R. A. McGowan, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C.

"Capital and Labor," John A. Ryan, D.D., National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C. $.10

"Challenge to the Churches," R. H. Tawney, Industrial Christian Fellowship, Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.

"Christ and Communism," G. A. Studdert-Kennedy, Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.

"Christian Doctrine in Social Action," National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Gratis

"Christian Doctrine of Poverty," John A. Ryan, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C. $.05

"Christian Fellowship and Modern Industry," A. E. Holt, Pilgrim Press, 14 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. $.25

"Christian Ideal, The," Frank Weston, Industrial Christian Fellowship, Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.

"Christian Mission in Relation to Industrial Problems," International Missionary Council, 419 Fourth Avenue, New York City. $1.00

"Christian Order of Industry Series," (1) Cambridge Conference, (2) Unemployment Problem, (3) Oxford Conference, (4) Standard of Living and Problem of Raising It, (5) Regularization of Industry, (6) Control of Industry, L.B.L., Cough Square, London, E.C.4, England.

"Christian Principles and Industrial Reconstruction," F. J. McConnell, Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City. $.20

"Christian Vocation in Industry and Marketing," T. N. Heron, Social Series, Catholic Literature Association, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, England.

"Christianity and Industry," Tom Sykes, Brotherhood Movement, 37 Norfolk Street, London, England.

"Church and Human Relations," Vida Scudder, 45 Leighton Street, Wellesley, Mass.

"Church and Industrial Relations, a preliminary report," Department of Christian Social Service, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

"Church and the Workingman, The," Lecture before Pittsburgh Rationalist Society, 1917, Pittsburgh, Pa.

"Co-operative Technique for Conflict," National Conference on the Christian Way of Life, 129 East 52nd Street, New York City. $.25

"Danger Zones in Our Economic Order," Sherwood Eddy, Fellowship for a Christian Social Order, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. $.25

"Divinity of Labor, The," Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City. $.10

"Economic Order, The: What is it? What is it Worth?" J. H. Gray, Christianity and Industry Series, Doran. $.10

"Ethics of Labor," Father Cuthbert, Paulist Press, 401 West 59th Street, New York City. $.05

"Encyclical of Christian Democracy," Pope Leo XIII, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C.

"Fifth Annual Meeting of the Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems," National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1412 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C.

"Genuine Research Starts at Home," J. F. Fletcher, National Council Protestant Episcopal Church, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

"How Far Should the Church Concern Itself with the Temporal Welfare of the People?" Brotherhood of St. Andrew, 1894, 202 South 19th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

"Human Relations in Industry," Industrial Dep't of Y.M.C.A., 1927, Silver Bay Conference.

"Human Relations in Industry," Mary Van Kleeck, Church League for Industrial Democracy, 931 Tribune Building, New York City.

"Ideals of Labor," Spencer Miller, Jr., National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

"Industrial and Social Problems," Industrial Christian Fellowship, Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.

"Industrial Christian Fellowship: A Reply to some Criticisms," Bishop of Manchester, Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.
"Industrial Christian Fellowship Book Room," A book list, Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.
"Industrial Christian Fellowship in Action," Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.
"Industrial Christian Fellowship, What it is, what it does," Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.
"Industrial Democracy from a Catholic Viewpoint," J. Ryan, Rossi-Bryn Co., 625 Paul Street, Baltimore, Md. $.25
"Industrial Questions and the Bishops' Letter," Official Pronouncement of the American Hierarchy, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C.
"Industrialism in Japan," W. F. France, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London, England. 1 sh.
"Labor Basis of Christianity," W. E. Orchard, No. 9, May, 1922, King's Weigh House Pulpit, London, England.
"Labor Problem, What it is, How to Solve it," J. A. Ryan, and R. A. McGowan, National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C.
"List of Publications," Industrial Christian Fellowship, Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.
"Mistakes of the Interchurch Steel Report," E. Victor Bigelow, U. S. Steel Corp., 71 Broadway, New York City.
"Moral Aspects of Socialism," Sidney Ball, Society of Socialist Christians, Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1. 2d each.
"Neglected Opportunity of the Church," Address by Herbert S. Bigelow. V. H. Verr Co., Cincinnati, Ohio.
"Notes on the Responsibility of the Christian Church," National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.
"Place of the Church in Industrial Issues," P. T. R. Kirk, Industrial Christian Fellowship, Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.
"Political and Economic Freedom," J. W. F. Rowe, Industrial Christian Fellowship, Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.
"Pope Leo XIII, Encyclical Letter on the Condition of Labor," National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C.
"Proceedings of the National Conference on Social Work, 1921–28," Department Christian Social Service, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.
"Quakerism and Industry," Reind's Book Centre, London, England.
"Question of Recognizing the Union," National Conference on the Christian Way of Life, 129 East 52nd Street, New York City.
"Relation of Christian Principles to Industry and Property," Industrial Christian Fellowship, Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.
"Relation of Christianity to Socialism," J. E. Franklin, 1914 American Baptist Publishing Society, 1701 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
"Religion a Blessing or a Curse?" G. A. Studdert-Kennedy, P. S. King and Co., London, England.
"Report on Church and Industry," Board of National Missions to General Assembly, Presbyterian Church, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
"Revolutionary Christianity," J. Parton Milum, Society of Socialist Christians, Holburn Hall, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1, England.

"Social Aspects of Co-operative Marketing," Benson Y. Landis, Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.
"Social Freedom, Ethics of Jesus Applied to Modern Life," Maurice Rowntree, Society of Socialist Christians, Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1, England.
"Social Function of the Church," Malcolm Spencer, Bryn Melyn, Harrowweald, Middlesex, England.
"Social Message of the Prophets," Bishop of Woolwich, Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.
"Social Task of the Church as set forth by the Lambeth Conference of 1920," National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.
"Socialism and Christianity," Keir Hardy, Society of Socialist Christians, Holburn Hall, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1, England.
"Socialism and Christianity," Percy Dearmer, Society of Socialist Christians, Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1, England.
"Strikes and Lockouts: The Way Out," Bishop Gore, P. S. King & Co., London, England.
"Students in Industry," Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.
"Suggested Program for an Industrial Relations Committee in Every City," Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.
"Towards a New Era in Industry," the Brotherhood Movement, July, 1928, 37 Norfolk Street, London, England.
"Twelve-Hour Day in the Steel Industry: Its Social Consequences and the Practicability of its Abolition," Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.
"Use of the Union Label," Dep't of Christian Social Service, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.
"Wage Question, The," Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.
"What About Industrial Peace?" H. G. Wood, M.A., P. S. King & Co., London, England.
"What Your Church Can do in Social Service and Industrial Relations," Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

PERIODICALS

Christian Century (weekly), 440 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.
Christlich Sozialer Pressedienst, edited (semi-monthly) by Soziale Geschaftsstelle für das Evangelische Deutschland; Berlin, Spandau, Evangelische Johannesstift, Stockerhaus, Germany.
Clip Sheet (quarterly), Church League for Industrial Democracy, 931 Tribune Building, New York City.
Commonweal, The (monthly), Latchworth, Hertfordshire, England.
Der Volksverein, edited (bi-monthly) by Volksverein für das Katholische Deutschland, München-Gladbach, Sandstrasse, 5–11, Germany.
Evangelische-Sozial, quarterly of the social work of the Evangelical Protestant Churches. Editor, Pfarrer D. Johannes Hertz. Pub. Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, Goettingen, Germany.
Federal Council Bulletin (monthly), Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

Information Service (weekly), Research Department, Federal Council of Churches, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

Inquiry, The (occasional), National Conference on the Christian Way of Life, 129 East 52nd Street, New York City.

L'Espoir Du Monde (monthly), Organe des Socialistes Chrétiens de la langue française. (France, Belgium, and French-speaking Switzerland). Tiefra, par Pontette, Aube.

Kirchlich-Soziale Blätter, edited (monthly) by the Church Social Council. Berlin, Spandau, Evangelisches Johannesstift, Stockerhaus, Germany.

L'Avant-Garde, direction: Elie Gounelle, 2, rue Balay, Saint-Etienne (Loire), France.

Le Christianisme Social (monthly), under direction: Elie Gounelle, 2, rue Balay, Saint-Etienne (Loire), France.

Menschheitskämpfer (monthly), organ of the Religiosen Sozialisten, Oesterreichs, Wein, XIII, Pastanit 90, Fach 35, Austria.

National Catholic Welfare Conference Bulletin (monthly), National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D. C.

New World, The (monthly), Organ of the Catholic Crusade, 5 Steedman Street, London, S.E. 17.

Social Service Bulletin (semi-monthly), Methodist Federation for Social Service, 150 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Social Trends (monthly), Disciples of Christ, 820 Occidental Building, Indianapolis, Ind.

Socialist Christian (monthly), incorporates *Crusader,* Society of Socialist Christians, 17–20 Holborn Hall, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.1, England.

Sonntagsblatt des Arbeitenden Volkes (weekly), organ of the Bund der Religiosen Sozialisten, Karlsruhe (Baden), Kurvenstrasse 21/23, Germany.

Soziale Kulture (Catholic monthly), edited by Dr. W. Hohn, München-Gladbach, Sandstrasse, 5–11, Germany.

Sozialpolitische Ueberblicke, edited (semi-monthly) by Sozialen Sekretariat, Evangelische-Soziale Schule, e.V; Berlin, Spandau, Evangelische Johannesstift, Stockerhaus, Germany.

Spirit of Missions (*Social Service section*) (monthly). National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, 281 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Stockholm, International Review for the Social Activities of the Churches, edited (monthly) by Dr. Adolph Keller, Geneva, Switzerland. For America, University of Chicago Press, 5750 Ellis Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Torch, The (monthly), Industrial Christian Fellowship, Hodder and Stoughton, London, England.

World Tomorrow (monthly), 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York City.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

CHAPTER I

RAVEN, CHARLES E. — "Christian Socialism in England, 1848–1856"
WOODWORTH, ARTHUR W. — "Christian Socialism in England"
MAURICE, FREDERICK W. — "Life and Letters of Frederick Denison Maurice," 2 vols.
KAUFMAN, M. — "Charles Kingsley and the Christian Socialists"
STUBBS, CHARLES W. — "Charles Kingsley and the Christian Socialists"
NÖEL, CONRAD — "Socialism in Church History"
HODGES, GEORGE — "Christian Socialism and the Social Union"
BEER, M. — "The History of British Socialism"
SELIGMAN, EDWIN R. A. — "Owen and the Christian Socialists"
BREADY, J. WESLEY — "Lord Shaftesbury"
NEW SCHRAFT-HERZOG — "Religious Encyclopedia"
"Dictionary of National Biography"
"Encyclopedia Britannica"

CHAPTER II

PAGET, S. — "Henry Scott Holland"
WESTCOTT — "Bishop of Durham"
PATTERSON — "History of the Church of England"
Pamphlets of Christian Social Union
RECKITT, MAURICE B. — "Return of Christendom"
——— "The Christian Social Movement in Great Britain" (Unpublished Lecture Notes)
SPENCER, MALCOLM — "The Kingdom of God in Industry"
The Commonwealth
League of Kingdom of God Quarterly
The Torch — Vol. VI. (New Series) Nos. 65–67, May–July
NEWBY, CATHARINE R. — "Christian Witness in Industrial Life"
TAWNEY, R. H. — "A Challenge to the Churches !"
INDUSTRIAL CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP — "Christ, the Lord of all Life"
——— "Its History, its Purpose, etc."
Monmouth Church Crusade
Handbook, June, 1928
The Crusade Bulletin, May 24, 1928

KIRK, P. T. R. — "The Place of the Church in Industrial Issues"
—— "A Modern Pentecost"
KIRK AND CARTER — "The Bishops and the Coal Crisis" (Unpublished MSS.)
WESTON, FRANK — "The Christian Ideal"
STUDDERT KENNEDY, G. A. — "Realm of Unreality"
—— "The Relation of Christian Principles to Industry and Property"
STUDDERT KENNEDY, G. A., Bishop of Woolwich, KIRK, Rev. P. T. R. and others — Crusade Leaflets 1–27
GORE, CHARLES — "Christ and Society"
TEMPLE, WILLIAM — "Christianity and the State"
HUGHES, FRED — "What's the Good ?"
FATHER ANDREW — "The Divine Interweaving"
Quarterly Intercession Paper — July, August and September, 1928
LOXTON, ETHEL M. — "Why 'Crusades' ?"
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER — "Man's Plans and God's"
——— "The I.C.F., a Reply to some Criticisms"
FATHER ANDREW — Sermon at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields
POVAH, J. W. — "Students and the Faith, or the Call of Church Tutorial Classes"
MANSBRIDGE, ALBERT — "The Resurrection of the Faith" (*Hibbert Journal*)
JACKS, L. P. — "Lost Leadership of the Church" (*Hibbert Journal*)
HALDANE, VISCOUNT — "The Churches and Higher Education" (*Hibbert Journal*)

CHAPTER III

"Lambeth Conference, 1920 and 1930, Encyclical Letters from the Bishops with the Resolutions and Reports"

CHAPTER IV

KEYSER, HARRIETTE A. — "Bishop Potter, the People's Friend"
WATERMAN, JOSEPH W. — "History of the Development of the Social Service of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States"
STEVENS, GEORGE A. — "History of Typographical Union No. 6," 1912
Hammer and Pen, 1896–1922
The Dawn for June, 1891; January, 1893
Journals of the General Convention, 1901, 1904, 1907, 1910, 1913, 1916, and 1919
Minutes and Records of St. Michael's Chapter, C.A.I.L., 1893–1915
Weekly Bulletin — United Garment Workers, September, 1910

CHAPTER V

HODGES, GEORGE — "Christian Socialism and the Social Union"
A Short History of the Christian Social Union No. 2 (New pamphlet series)

What the Church Social Union Is, and other pamphlets
Hammer and Pen

CHAPTER VI

Aims of the Society of the Companions of the Holy Cross
Intercession Paper
The Social Preparation of the Kingdom of God, and other pamphlets of the Church Socialist League

CHAPTER VII

KLEECH, MARY VAN — "Human Relations in Industry" (*Churchman*)
SPOFFORD, WILLIAM — "Church and Industry in North Carolina" (*Churchman*)
The Clip Sheet
The Social Preparation
Prayers for Group and Private Use
News Notes of Church League for Industrial Democracy

CHAPTERS VIII–XIII

Sources listed in text

CHAPTER XIV

Lambeth Conference, 1920
TAWNEY, RICHARD H. — "Religion and the Rise of Capitalism"
STODDERT KENNEDY, G. A., — "The Wicket Gate"

INDEX

A

Abrahams, Henry: 66
Act, Industrial and Provident Societies: 14
Actors' Church Alliance: 65
Actors' Society: 65
Addams, Jane: 101
Adderly, James: 28
Adelynrood: 91
Adler, Dr. Felix: 86
Adult Educational Movement: 42
Allen-A Hosiery Company: 156 *et seq.*
Allen, Charles Delancey: 62
Allen, Rev. S.: 53, 59
Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union: 103
American Federationist: 198
American Federation of Labor: 71, 76, 203, 211
American Red Cross: 176
American Tobacco Company: 189
Anderson, Bishop: 103, 105, 113
Anglo-Catholic activity: 29 *et seq.*
Anglo-Catholic Summer School of Sociology: 30
Anketell, Rev. John: 53
Annex Hall, New York City: 58
Anson, Harold: 22
Archbishop, Canterbury: 37, 38 *et seq.*, 222
Archbishop, York: 37
Archbishop's report, Fifth Committee: 4
Arliss, George: 65
Associated Charities, Pittsburgh: 176
Ashley, W. J.: 80, 81

B

Baltimore Open Forum: 99
Baptists: 146
Barbour, Rev. Henry M.: 74
Barnett, Rev. F. B.: 102, 103
Barondess, Joseph: 68
Bayle, Rev. W.: 175 *et seq.*
Beacon Manufacturing Company: 107
Beer, M.: 6
Bell, Rev. B. I.: 94, 98, 104
Benson, Archbishop: 3
Bentley, Rev. Walter E.: 65
Benton, Ill.: 136
Berkeley Divinity School: 81, 101, 107, 127
Bethlehem Mining Corporation: 169
Bibliography: 251 *et seq.*
Bishops, House of: 70, 95, 107
Bituminous Coal Commission: 152*n*
Blanchard, Paul: 201
Bliss, Rev. W. D. P.: 53, 54, 79, 222
Bogart, John Newton: 60
Bolshevism: 123
Booth, Rev. Samuel: 104
Bost, E. H.: 210
Bost, Rev. S. S.: 188 *et seq.*, 209
Bowie, Rev. W. Russell: 75, 124
Brent, Bishop: 67, 79, 91
Brewster, Bishop Benjamin: 94, 95
Brewster, Bishop Chauncey: 124
Bricklayers' Union: 84
Broad Churchmen: 15
Browne, Rev. G. I.: 94, 95
Buchez, [illegible]
Buckner, Ill.: 137
Budenz, Louis: 158 *et seq.*
Burch, Bishop: 74
Business Men's Relief, Pittsburgh: 183
Byron-Curtiss, Rev. A. L.: 94

C

Calvary Chapel: 53, 55
Calvert, Alfred D.: 86
Cannon, Bishop: 206, 209

Capital and Labor, Comm. on Relations of: 65, 67, 88, 233 *et seq.*
Capital and Labor, Joint Comm. on Relations of: 70, 87, 113 *et seq.*
Carlyle, Thomas: 6, 7
Central Labor Union, Durham, N. C.: 210, 212
Central Labor Union Council: 74, 127
Chartism: 8, 10
Cheap Clothes and Nasty: 13
Chicago, Wilmington and Franklin Coal Company: 136, 149
Chickering Hall: 58
Child Labor: 69, 244
Christian Social Service, Department of: 75, 106, 123 *et seq.*
Christian Social Union (English): 3, 17 *et seq.*, 77, 82
Christian Social Union (American): 63, 70, 73, 77 *et seq.*, 87, 92, 115, 122
Christian Socialism: 3, 5 *et seq.*
Christian Socialist, 13
Christian Socialist Fellowship, 70, 115
Churchmanship: 21
Church Association for the Advancement of the Interests of Labor: 52 *et seq.*, 78, 82, 92, 112, 115, 119, 127, 219, 235, 237
Church Building Fund Commission: 140
Church House, Phila.: 82, 85
Church League for Industrial Democracy: 97 *et seq.*
Church Missions House: 97, 119
Church Social Union: 79 *et seq.*
Church Socialist League (English): 26 *et seq.*
Church Socialist League (American): 93 *et seq.*
Church Tutorial Classes: 42
Church of the Ascension, Pittsburgh: 183
Civil Liberties Union: 107
Cloakmakers' Strike: 61
Clergymen's Relief Com. for Miners' Families: 176
Clipsheet: 104
Coal Commission: 40
Coal Operators' Assoc. of Ill.: 135
Coal Report: 40
Cobb, Rev. W. F.: 81
Cochran, William F.: 94, 98
Coleman, Bishop: 65
Coleridge, Samuel T.: 5, 6
College Settlements: 91
Committee on Conciliation and Arbitration: 60
Committee on Prisons, National: 22
Committee on the State of the Church: 64, 67, 116
Commonwealth: 4, 22, 23, 31
Communism: 7
Concordat, General Strike: 3, 4, 38
Conference of Catholic Charities: 176
Consumers' League: 58, 84
Convention, A. F. of L.: 106
Cook, Rev. W. H.: 53
Cook, Walter: 148, 149
Cooper Union: 58, 61
Cooperative Societies: 8
Copec, ix
Coshocton Iron Works: 166
Council of Churches, Pittsburgh: 176
Craft plan: 245
Crouch, Rev. F. M.: 119, 121, 124
Crusades: 32
Cunningham, Rev. W.: 80

D

Daniel, Dr. Annie Sturgis: 62, 127
Davidson, Archbishop: 3, 4, 222
Dawn, A Journal of Christian Socialism: 54
De Costa, B. F.: 53
Demant, Rev. A. V. G.: 31
Dennison Tag Manufacturing Co.: 107
Deputies, House of: 113 *et seq.*
Dexter, Rev. Smith O.: 102
Dicey, Lord: 6
Diocesan Convention of New York: 58, 70
Dunn, James: 148
Durham Central Labor Union: 205
Durham Cotton Manufacturing Company: 190, 195, 203
Durham Hosiery Mills Company: 194
Durham, N. C.: 187 *et seq.*

E

Ebor, William: 38
Economic Review: 22
Edwards, Rev. Lyford P.: 94
Eight Hour League: 70, 115
Electrical Workers' Strike: 61
Ely, Richard T.: ix, 78, 80
Employment Agencies Bill; Cobb: 72
Episcopal Theological Seminary: 101, 105, 107
Erwin Cotton Mills Company: 190, 196 *et seq.*
Erwin, J. Harper: 190, 203, 205
Erwin, W. A.: 190, 203, 207, 213
Evangelicals: 15

F

Fabian Socialists: 93
Factory Inspector, Department of: 85
Faneuil Hall, Boston: 66
Farr, Rev. Albert: 103
Federal Council of Churches: 100, 106
Fellowship House: 38
Fellowship for a Christian Social Order: 106
Fellowship of Reconciliation: 106, 107
Field Studies: 131
Filene Department Store: 107
Fisher, Gov. John S.: 169
Fletcher, Joseph F.: 127
Fort, Rev. Horace: 98, 104
Foster, Lily D.: 69
Franklin County, Ill.: 141
Free Church: 40
Full Fashion Hosiery Workers, Federation of: 156 *et seq.*, 189, 194, 205
Furse, Canon: 19

G

Gamble, Rev. W. M.: 94
Gardiner, Robert H.: 80
General Convention: 64 *et seq.*, 75, 88, 92, 94, 95, 99, 102, 107, 110, 111 *et seq.*, 145, 185, 232–250
General Election: 27
General Electric Company: 107
General Strike: 3, 38, 223
General Theological Seminary: 107, 163
Gilbert, Rev. Chas. K.: 74
Glenn, John M.: 75
Gompers, Samuel: 71
Good Will: 22
Gore, Bishop: 18, 20, 24
Greer, Bishop: 74, 95, 119
Griswold College: 138
Guild of St. Matthew: 17, 26, 28
Guild Socialism: 28 *et seq.*

H

Hall, George A.: 69*n*
Hammer and Pen: 62 *et seq.*, 71, 82, 83
Harrison, Frederick: 15
Headlam, Stewart D.: 17
Hines, Walker D.: 200
Hobart College: 81
Hoffman, Alfred: 210
Hogue, Rev. R. W.: 98, 99, 102
Holland, Canon Scott: 17
Holland, Rev. R. A.: 77, 80
Holy Cross, Order of: 52, 59
Holy Cross, Society of the Companions of: 70, 72, 90 *et seq.*, 95, 115, 116, 122, 235, 245
Hopkins, Dr.: 116
Hoxton, Eng.: 23
Hughes, Thomas: 13, 15
Hughson, Fr.: 96
Hull House: 101
Huntington, Bishop: 57, 68, 78, 79, 80, 84, 222
Huntington, Rev. J. O. S.: ix, 53, 59, 92

I

Illinois Coal Operators' Association: 141
Illinois Department of Mines and Minerals: 142
Illinois Federation of Labor: 105
Image, Selwyn: 64
Immigration Bill, Sabbath: 72
Industrial Christian Fellowship: 24, 26 *et seq.*, 218
Industrial democracy: 249
Industrial Relations: 232

Industrial Relations, Division of: 76, 127, 149, 187, 203
Industrial Relations, Secretary of: 126
Industrial Sunday: 35 *et seq.*, 220
Industrial Workers of the World: 138
Intercession Papers: 91
International Ladies Garment Workers' Union: 76

J

Jackson (54-hour) Bill: 72
Jacksonville Agreement: 140, 167, 178
Jewish Family Welfare Society: 176
Jones, Bishop Paul: 94, 95, 104
Jones, Jenkins Lloyd: 68
Justice, Department of: 98

K

Kammerer, Rev. Percy C.: 179
Kelley, Mrs. Florence: 86
Kenney, Edward: 53
Kenosha, Wis.: 153 *et seq.*
Keyser, Harriette A.: ix, 57, 59, 62, 63, 65, 66, 76, 82, 127
Kingsley, Charles: 6 *et seq.*, 222
Kleeck, Mary van: 104, 126
Knights of Labor: 55, 59, 60, 138
Kramer, J. W.: 53
Kuppenheimer Factory: 103

L

Labor Day: 35, 64, 173
Labor Sunday: 116, 179, 236
Labor Day Services: 59, 207
Labor Unions; right to: 249
Labor Movement: 32, 44, 78
Labor Party: 27
Ladd, Rev. W. P.: 98, 102
Laissez-faire: 5
Lambeth Committee on Industrial and Social Problems: 44 *et seq.*
Lambeth Conference: 18, 24, 44 *et seq.*, 220, 222
Lambeth Encyclical: 46 *et seq.*, 249
Lang, Dr.: 4
Lathrop, Dr. Chas. N.: ix, 98, 125
Lawrance, Margaret S.: 57, 72, 76, 92
Lawrence, Bishop: 80
Leach, Rev. Floyd S.: 74, 127
League for the Kingdom of God: 26 *et seq.*
Lewis, K. P.: 208
Liggett-Myers Tobacco Company: 189
Liggett Spring and Axle Company: 166
Lindsey, Dr. S. M.: 86
Lines, Bishop: 74
Litchfield, Eng.: 102
Lithographers' Strike: 61
Lloyd, Bishop: 75
Low, Seth: 60, 113, 114
Ludlow, John Malcolm: 8 *et seq.*
Lux Mundi: 18

M

Mackay-Smith, Bishop: 86
MacTetrich, Rev. Francis: 61
Manchester, Bishop of: 18, 102
Mann, Bishop: 176, 182
Manning, Bishop: 74
Manning, J. M.: 211
Mansbridge, Albert; 43
Marble Workers' Union: 61
Marlborough, Bishop of: 19
Marson, Rev. C. L.: 80
Martin, Rev. K. D.: 154 *et seq.*
Maryland Prisoners' Aid Association: 99
Mather, Samuel: 113
Matthews, Dean: 43
Maurice, F. D.: 6 *et seq.*, 221, 222
May Day: 35
McKim, Rev. Randolph H.: 65, 112
McLeansboro, Ill.: 137
McNeill, G. E.: 80
Melish, Rev. J. H.: ix, 98, 103, 119
Methodists: 146
Mexican Labor Federation: 106
Miller, Spencer, Jr.: 127
Miners' Federation: 40
Miners' Strike: 102
Minimum Wage: 249
Monmouthshire: 33
Monongahela Ministerial Association: 179
Monongahela, Pa.: 166 *et seq.*
Moran, Rev. F. J. Clay: 61
Morecambe, Eng.: 27
Morgan, Emily: 92
Morris, Henry Lewis: 114

Morse, Josiah: 201
Mill, John Stuart: 7
Murray, Bishop, ix

N

Nash, Rev. Norman: 105
National Mining Company: 182
National Council: 123 *et seq.*
Navy Mission: 24, 26
Nearing, Scott: 96
Nestor, Agnes: 105
New York Council of Mediation and Conciliation: 60
New York Infirmary for Women and Children: 62
North State Knitting Mills, Inc.: 194

O

Olander, Victor: 105
Old Ben Coal Corporation: 148, 149
Oliver, Augustus K.: 183
Organized Labor Committee: 74
Outlook: 68
Owen, Robert: 6, 7
Owenite Club: 9

P

Page, Senator: 69
Paget, Stephen: 22
Parker, Eugene M.: 94
Parker, D. C.: 212
Parliament: 11
Parson Lot: 12
Parsons, Bishop: 114, 117
Passaic Strike: 212
Paterson Strike: 105, 107
Peabody, George Foster: 104
Pearl Cotton Mills: 190
Peel, John A.: 212
Pennsylvania Federation of Labor: 102
Pennsylvania Railroad: 171
People's College, Sheffield: 14
Peterborough, Bishop of: 102
Peters, Dr. John P.: 57, 66, 79
Philadelphia Public Ledger: 85
Pinckard, George: 114
Pittsburgh Civic Commission: 73
Pittsburgh Coal Company: 167, 183
Plymouth Cordage Company: 107
Political prisoners: 247
Pollock, William: 147
Postal Employees: 247
Postal Lending Library: 38
Potter, Bishop: 53, 59, 60, 61, 65, 68, 71, 80, 84, 113 *et seq.*, 219, 222
Presbyterian Church, General Assembly: 114
Presiding Bishop: 132
Press Committee: 62
Producers' Cooperative Society: 15
Purce, Rev. W. M.: 136 *et seq.*

Q

Quarterly, League for the Kingdom of God: 31
Quarterly Intercession Papers: 38
Queen's College for Women: 9, 14

R

Rainsford, Dr. W. S.: 80
Ransford, Edward: 62
Rappaport, Rabbi: 159
Raven, Canon: 6
Resolutions, General Convention: 232–250
Reynolds, Rev. Joseph: 60, 64
Revolution, French: 5, 7
Revolution, Social Democrat: 63
Richmond, Canon: 18, 19
Riis, Jacob: 113
Robbins, Mrs. Raymond: 92
Rochester, Anna: 102
Roman Catholics: 146, 171, 173, 181 *et seq.*
Roosevelt, President: 145
Ross, E. A.: 163
Rossetti, Dante G.: 15
Rotary Clubs: 34
Rowntree, Seebohm: ix
Russell Sage Foundation: 126

S

Sayre, Rev. John Nevin: 104
Scudder, Vida D.: 91, 94, 98, 99, 102, 104
Seabury Divinity School: 163
Seeley, Tyndal J. R.: 15
Selected Bibliography: 264 *et seq.*
Senate Committee: 173
Shaftesbury, Lord: 7, 10, 15
Shaw, George Bernard: 96
Shearman, Margaret H.: 92
Silk Workers: 105
Simkhovitch, Mary K.: 75, 98, 102

Social Preparation for the Kingdom of God: 94, 95
Social Service Commission, Diocesan: 70, 74, 75, 115
Social Service, Commission on: 88, 92
Social Service, Committee on, House of Deputies: 95
Social Service Conference, National: 106
Social Service, Joint Commission on: 73, 118 *et seq.*
Social Work, National Conference on: 126
Socialism: 5, 8, 18, 27, 28
Society for the Promoting of Working Men's Associations: 13
South End House: 79
Southey, Robert: 5, 6
Spaulding, Bishop: 93, 94
Spofford, Rev. W. B.: 98, 101 *et seq.*, 126
Spurgeon: 7
St. Albans, Bishop of: 102
St. Andrew's, East Durham, N. C.: 193 *et seq.*
St. Joseph's, West Durham, N. C.: 191 *et seq.*
St. Louis Exposition: 68
St. Margaret's Memorial Hospital, Pittsburgh: 180
St. Mark's, West Frankfort, Ill.: 135 *et seq.*
St. Matthew's, Kenosha, Wis.: 153 *et seq.*
St. Michael's, N. Y. C.: 57, 61
St. Paul's Chapter House: 19
St. Paul's, Monongahela, Pa.: 170 *et seq.*
St. Philip's, Durham, N. C.: 188 *et seq.*
Starr, James: 109
Steele, Harold: 158 *et seq.*
Stelzle, Rev. Chas.: 70
Stonemasons' Union: 84
Street, Rev. C. L.: 101
Studdert Kennedy, Rev. G. A.: 34, 40 *et seq.*, 218
Students in Industry: 107
Sunday rest: 65, 72, 245
Suter, Rev. John H.: 80
Sweat Shop Committee: 61, 84
Syndicalism: 59

T

Tawney, R. H.: 218
Temple, Bishop: 21
Tenement Houses: 72
Textile Strike: 83
Textile Workers' Union: 84, 86
Thomas, Norman: 96
Thornton, Edward: 86
Tomkins, Rev. Floyd W.: 53, 91
Torch: 38
Trade Union Congress: 39
Trade Union News: 86
Trade Unionists: 24, 36
Tri-City Weekly: 138
Truro, Bishop of: 102
Tyler, Rev. John P.: 84
Typographical Union: 60
Typographical Union No. 6: 62
Tzar of Russia: 111

U

United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners: 212
United Garment Workers' Union: 84
United Mine Workers, District 12: 135 *et seq.*
United Mine Workers, District 5: 166 *et seq.*
U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics: 141, 195, 203
U. S. Steel Corporation: 166, 182
United Textile Workers: 107, 212
University of Illinois: 104

V

Van Allen, W. H.: 59, 62
Virginia Theological Seminary: 81

W Y Z

War, World: 23, 29, 94, 97, 123, 162
Wardman, G. W.: 22
Watson, Lucy C.: 92
Wescott, Bishop: 19, 27
Wesleyan University: 104
West, Algernon: 27
West Frankfort, Ill.: 135 *et seq.*
Westmoreland County, Pa.: 72, 92
White Lists: 21
Who's Who?: 227–231
Williams, Commissioner of Alien Labor, Canada: 65

Williams, Bishop Chas. D.: 99, 102, 113, 114
Winslow, C.-E. A.: 67
Winton, Bishop of: 102
Women's Trade Union League: 92, 105
Wood, D. M.: 147
Woodruff, Clinton R.: ix, 75, 84
Woods, R. A.: 79
Woodsworth, A. V.: 14, 16
Woolwich, Bishop of: 33
Workers Education Bureau: 107, 127
Workingmen's College: 14
Working Women's Society: 58
Young Men's Christian Association: 109
Ziegler, Ill.: 137, 145
Zion College: 19

University of Southern California Library

HN
31
M63

DEC 18 1930

Miller, Spencer, 1891–

The church and industry, by Spencer Miller, jr., and Joseph F. Fletcher. New York, London [etc.] Longmans, Green and company, 1930.

xiii, 273 p. front. (4 port.) plates. 21 cm.

The study was made possible by a grant from the National council of the Episcopal church to the Department of Christian social service for the establishment of a Division on industrial relations. The church and industry is the first of a series of research studies to be issued by this Division on industrial relations."—Foreword.

331318

(Continued on next card)

30—34200

[60m1]